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**FIVE ENGLISH CONSORTS
OF FOREIGN PRINCES**



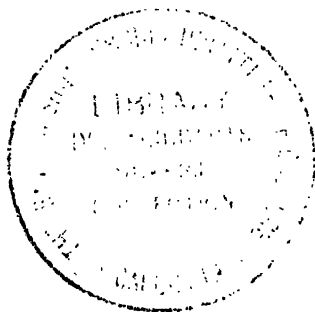
MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND

REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

FIVE ENGLISH CONSORTS OF FOREIGN PRINCES

BY

IDA WOODWARD



WITH SIX ILLUSTRATIONS

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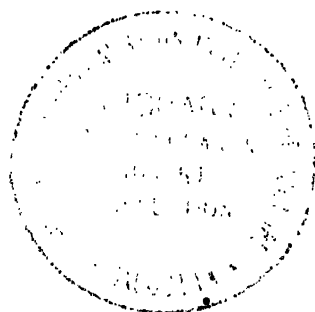
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N.R.

R.C.



TO
MY COUSIN
MARY JANE JAQUES
I AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATE
THIS BOOK

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1489-1541

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FIVE ENGLISH CONSORTS OF FOREIGN PRINCES

PART I

MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, ELDEST DAUGHTER OF HENRY VII

1489-1541

CHAPTER I

Relations between England and Scotland. James III. His death. Accession of James IV. Marriage treaty between James IV. and Princess Margaret Tudor. Margaret's childhood. The betrothal by proxy. Death of Elizabeth of York. Margaret sent to Scotland. Meeting with James. The marriage. Rebellion in the Isles and on the Border.

MARGARET TUDOR'S chief claim to the notice of posterity is that she was the source from which the union of England and Scotland sprang. Her marriage with James IV. was arranged in the hope that it would consolidate a lasting peace between the two countries of Great Britain, and possibly lead them to unification under one crown. The first object was never accomplished; the second a century later, but in a manner that would have been distasteful to the monarchs who ruled England in the interim. Henry the Eighth's aversion to his eldest sister caused him to pass her over in his will when mentioning possible heirs, and Elizabeth's refusal to rectify this omission and her dislike to the idea of the Stuart succession led to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. At Elizabeth's death, however, Mary's son, James VI. of Scotland, peacefully ascended the throne and united the two countries. Elizabeth's objection to the prospect of his succession had been modified by his subservience to her, and his callous indifference to his mother's fate. But Henry the Eighth's mortification would have been intense had

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he known that the first king of Great Britain would be descended, through both parents, from the detested Margaret. Could Margaret herself have been given a vision of the great event of 1603 she would indeed have rejoiced at the triumphs of her descendant over the machinations of her enemies.

England and Scotland had been at enmity, with brief pacific intervals, ever since they had existed as nations. In the earlier part of the fifteenth century both countries were too much disturbed by internecine strife to enter into wars with one another. England had been occupied by the Wars of the Roses, and Scotland by insurrection of nobles against kings who were frequently minors. In 1485, however, Henry VII., having married Elizabeth of York and ascended the precarious English throne, was anxious to strengthen his interest in Scotland, so offered the hand of his mother-in-law Elizabeth Woodville to James III., who was seventeen years her junior. The ill-assorted match was only prevented by the death of King James.

James IV. ascended the throne of Scotland after much strife and turmoil. His father, James III., had become king at the age of eight, and had suffered much from the various factions of the nobility who had become powerful during his minority. Later, his two brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, rebelled against him; eventually, however, he triumphed, and after the latter's death banished the former, who fled to France, where he became naturalized and married a French heiress.

His son, John Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland, played an important part in the life of Margaret Tudor.

Owing to a prophecy that his next of kin should slay him, James III. arranged that his son should be brought up away from home. The precaution was unavailing, for in the name of the prince, the nobles again rebelled, and meeting the king's army at Sauchieburn in June 1488 defeated it. In the midst of the battle King James galloped from the field, was thrown, and presently murdered by a party of pursuing rebels.

James IV. was crowned at Scone a few days later, and notwithstanding the fact that he was not yet seventeen, he evinced good sense and a capacity to govern. During his minority the

nobles who had led the rebellion remained in power, but on coming of age he dismissed them and chose new councillors with discrimination; amongst them was Sir Andrew Wood, the great naval commander, who encouraged the king's taste for shipbuilding. Scotland prospered under the new régime, excellent laws were made and enforced, and the king gained the affection of his subjects by frequent progressions through the country, his handsome person and graceful and gracious manners. His foreign policy was equally successful: the ancient league between France and Scotland was renewed, and James was able to hold his own against the Pope and maintain the ecclesiastical independence of the realm.

James's excellence as a ruler was by no means equalled by his domestic virtues, his susceptibility to feminine charms was phenomenal, and his *maitresses en titre* rivalled those of Louis XIV. in numbers and magnificence. The first of any importance was Lady Margaret Drummond, for whom his affection was so great that, after keeping her in almost royal state for more than twelve years, he resolved to marry her, and wrote to the Pope for a dispensation. The unhappy lady, however, was murdered by her enemies before the Papal bull arrived. The next, who must have been partially contemporaneous with Margaret Drummond, was Jane Kennedy, who retained his affection for some years after his marriage, and who was the mother of James Stuart, Primate of Scotland. The last was Lady Heron of Ford Castle, whose influence was pernicious on the eve of the battle of Flodden.

Meanwhile serious matrimonial negotiations had been entered into with Cicely, daughter of Edward IV.; and after that king's death, Anne of Suffolk, daughter of his sister Elizabeth and William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who had supported Richard III. After Bosworth such an alliance was thought unworthy of the King of Scotland, and overtures were made to Ferdinand for the hand of Katharine of Aragon. After temporizing for some time, the King of Spain chose the brilliant English alliance in preference, and James was forced to seek another bride.

The nobles were most desirous for the king's marriage with a foreign princess, as his union with a subject would certainly

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lead to strife; and in 1501 his infatuation for Margaret Drummond was causing them keen anxiety. It was suggested, therefore, that the offer made by Henry VII. of his eldest daughter's hand in 1493, which had been disparaged by James at the time, should now be accepted. That such a marriage would consolidate the peace between the two countries made it a most desirable event. Lord Bacon gives an account of the making of the alliance in his *History of King Henry the Seventh*. He and the English ambassador Bishop Fox had met King James to discuss the subject in Melrose Abbey. Presently the 'King spoke with the Bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying: that these temporary *Truces* and *Peaces* were soon made, and soon broken: But that he desired a straiter amity with the King of England, discovering his mind; that if the King would give him in *marriage*, the Lady Margaret, his eldest *daughter*, that indeed might be a *knot* indissoluble, that he knew well what Place and Authority the *Bishop* deservedly had with his *Master*. Therefore, if he would take the business to heart, and deale in it effectually, he doubted not it would succeed well. The Bishop answered soberly, that he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be an instrument in such a matter, but would doe his best endeavour. Wherefore the Bishop returning to the King, and giving an account of what had passed, finding the King more than well disposed in it gave the King advice; first to proceed to a conclusion of *Peace*, and then to goe on to the *Treaty of Marriage*, by degrees. Hereupon a *Peace* was concluded, which was published a little before *Christmas* in the Fourteenth year of the *Kings* Raign to continue for both the Kings' lives, and the overliver of them a year after. In the *Peace* there was an Article contained, that no *Englishman* should *enter* into *Scotland* and no *Scottish-man* into *England*, without letters commendatory from the Kings of either Nation. This at the first sight might seem a means to continue a strangement between the *Nations*; but it was done so Locke in the Borderers.'

So the negotiations for the marriage of James of Scotland with Princess Margaret of England prospered, but, notwithstanding his remarks to the Bishop, James was still reluctant to marry the little Princess; and it was only by assuring him that

disaster would accrue to his country, if he persisted in his refusal, that his councillors were able to persuade him to conclude the marriage treaty.

The bride-elect was born at Westminster Palace on 29 November, 1489, and was baptized with becoming splendour at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, on St. Andrew's day. It seemed prophetic that the Scottish Patron Saint, St. Andrew, and St. Margaret, Malcolm Canmore's wife, and Edgar Atheling's sister, should both be connected in the baptism of the future English Queen of Scotland. The baby princess received the name of Margaret, after her grandmother Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and the saint already mentioned. When the ceremony was over Princess Margaret was given into the charge of Lady Guildford, wife of Sir Richard Guildford, one of the knights of the household, and taken to the Queen's favourite palace at Richmond, hitherto called Shene, but renamed by Henry VII.

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm for letters caused by the Renaissance, and in spite of the fact that the Countess of Richmond, one of the most learned women in Europe, took an interest in Margaret's education, she failed to assimilate knowledge, and to the end of her days her mind remained uncultured ; but her skill at dancing and playing the lute and clavichord was considerable. She was a very pretty child, with golden hair, a rose-leaf complexion, and sky-blue eyes. Her eldest brother Arthur was devoted to her, and bequeathed to her all his personal property, jewels and silver, and even his most magnificent robes, somewhat to the chagrin of his Spanish bride, Katharine of Aragon. His death at Ludlow, on 2 April, 1502, was Margaret's first great sorrow, and young as she was, she felt it most keenly. Shortly afterwards, in January 1503, her thoughts were turned into pleasanter places by the arrival of James the Fourth's Commissioners, the Earl of Bothwell, the Bishop of Glasgow, and Andrew Forman, with a request for her alliance in marriage with their king. Henry VII., glad to find that his negotiations had come to such a satisfactory conclusion, accepted the proposal with joy and thankfulness. When a pessimistic councillor suggested that as Margaret might one day be Queen of England that country

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might become a province of Scotland, Henry wisely pointed out that the union of the nations would be advantageous to England 'as the most noble head of the whole isle, as it ever happens that the less becomes subservient to the greater, the greater naturally preceeding the less in importance.' The idea of the union of Britain under Margaret's rule had occurred to the clear-sighted monarch as it had done under a different aspect to the Scottish nobles some time before. Prince Henry alone disliked the match, and his rage was so furious that it threw him into a fit of ague. During the autumn the marriage treaty was arranged; Margaret was immediately put in possession of the castles and manors to the amount of £2000 a year, that formed the jointure of the Queen Consort of Scotland, to which James added a pension of 5000 marks. In event of her widowhood she was to be permitted to live either within or without the bounds of Scotland at her pleasure. Henry was to give his daughter during the three following years £10,000.

When all these protracted arrangements were at length complete the date of the marriage by proxy was fixed, and in the words of John Young, Somerset Herald: 'At the King's right royal manor of Richmond, on St. Paul's day, January, 24th, 1503, were performed the *fiancels* of the high and mighty Prince James IV. King of Scotland, and Margaret, eldest daughter of our sovereign lord King Henry VII.; King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland as ensueth.

'The King, the Queen, and all their noble children having heard Mass, and a notable sermon preached by Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of Chichester, the Queen, after service, received the whole illustrious company in her great chamber. She was attended by her daughter the Princess Margaret, and by the little lady Mary, her youngest child; likewise her sister, the Lady Katharine of Devonshire, and most of the ladies of the court. . . . ' The king was attended by his son Prince Henry, Don Peter the Pope's orator, and the ambassadors of Spain and Venice; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with four other bishops; likewise the members of the Privy Council, and a great number of the nobles of England. Then were introduced Patrick Hepburn, the Earl of Bothwell, who acted as proxy for the King of Scotland his sovereign; and the other

procurators for the marriage, being the Archbishop of Glasgow and the elect Bishop of Moray.

'Then the Earl of Surrey stood forth, and with very good manner, right seriously declared the cause of that fair assembly being met to-gether, Dr. Routhall, King Henry the Seventh's secretary, proceeded to read the Scottish Commission. A canon of Glasgow, Mr. David Cunningham, followed by reading aloud the Pope's dispensation "for consanguinity, affinity, and nonage." Thereupon the Archbishop of Glasgow asked King Henry if there was any impediment to the wedlock and the king replied that there was not; the Queen and Princess Margaret gave satisfactory answers to the same question, and Henry made similar inquiries with regard to King James of the Archbishop of Glasgow, who notwithstanding his knowledge of his sovereign's relations with Jane Kennedy and Lady Margaret Drummond, replied that he was free and disengaged. These preliminaries settled the Archbishop of Glasgow proceeded to read the words of the *fiancelles* first to Lord Bothwell and then to the Princess, Bothwell having plighted King James' faith and troth to take Margaret for his wife and spouse, and Margaret having accepted the same and "willingly and deliberately" taken James for her husband, and a loud noise of minstrels answered in their best and most joyful manner.'

On the same morning the *fiancelles* were proclaimed at St. Paul's Cross amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who foresaw in the marriage a promise of an everlasting peace with Scotland. At the banquet which followed the ceremony Margaret was treated with the same honour that would have been rendered to the Queen of a foreign monarch visiting England.

Festivities, jousts, balls, and feastings ensued, and presents were exchanged between the Scottish and English nobles, but in a few days the gaiety was turned to mourning by the death of the bride's mother, Elizabeth of York. She had gone to the Tower for her *accouchement* immediately after the ceremony of the *fiancelles*, and on 2 February a princess was born; nine days later the last Queen of the House of Plantagenet passed away, and the toll of the funeral supplanted the merry marriage-bell.

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Although 1 September had been the date named in the marriage treaty for the Queen of Scotland's departure for her husband's country, she actually set out on 16 June. Some writers ascribe this precipitancy to the death of Lady Margaret Drummond, which had occurred in a most painful manner. Shortly after the King's marriage by proxy, she and her sisters Lady Flemming and Sybella Drummond were poisoned at breakfast at Drummond Castle. The King's grief for her was profound, and he caused their child Lady Margaret to be recognized as his daughter and carefully brought up at Edinburgh Castle. Eventually she was legitimized by James V. and married to John Lord Gordon. Probably James felt more free to receive his official wife now that his unofficial one was dead; probably the Council dreaded some similar complication with another subject, and wished to hasten the State marriage. But whatever the cause may have been the fact remains that the new Queen started ten weeks earlier than was originally arranged. King Henry escorted his daughter from Richmond to Collewston, the home of her grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, who entertained her for a fortnight. Having said good-bye to her father and grandmother Margaret set out for Scotland under the charge of Lord Surrey, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Dare, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham. The journey was long and tedious, but was relieved, at least to the little Queen, by the magnificence of her receptions in the cities and towns through which she passed. Incidents, such as dressing in a litter by the wayside before taking the most prominent place in a brilliant assembly, and eating meals in a somewhat haphazard manner, which would have distressed an older woman, were merely enjoyable to this child of thirteen, and any discomforts she experienced were more than compensated for by the honour and glory she received.

On 3 August the procession reached Dalkeith, when Margaret was solemnly received at the palace gates by Lord Morton and many of her new subjects. The reception over Lady Morton led her Queen to her apartments, and she was scarcely installed therein when the cry rang through the castle 'the King has arrived.' Notwithstanding the political nature

of the marriage and the extreme youth of the bride, James played the part of ardent bridegroom to perfection. Instead of awaiting Margaret's arrival in Edinburgh and receiving her in state, he hastened to Dalkeith in order to give her the satisfaction of a private meeting, and a favourable opportunity of making his acquaintance. Margaret must indeed have thought herself fortunate when she saw him, for even maidens of thirteen are not impervious to manly excellence. James was the handsomest prince, the most chivalrous knight, and the most courteous gentleman in Europe. Of the manifold descriptions of him perhaps Scott's in *Marmion* is the best—it is certainly the most synchronized :—

The monarch's form was middle size ;
 For feat of strength or exercise,
 Shaped in proportions fair ;
 And hazel was his eagle eye.
 And auburn of the darkest dye,
 His short curled beard and hair.
 Light was his footstep in the dance,
 And firm his stirrup in the lists ;
 And, oh ! he had a merry glance,
 That seldom lady's heart resists.

After a short conversation dinner was served in a ceremonial manner, and when it was over there was music, and Queen Margaret danced accompanied by Lord Surrey. When the dance was ended the King took leave of his Queen and returned to Edinburgh. The night was less fortunate than the day, for at midnight a fire broke out in the stables and threatened to spread to the castle, and Margaret was awakened and frightened by the flames. Though the house was saved, the stables were entirely destroyed and Margaret's two white palfreys burned to death. She was inconsolable, and she spent the following morning in tears for her loss. James, on hearing of the catastrophe, sent a message of condolence, and two more white palfreys ; also he arranged that Margaret and her suite should remove to the neighbouring castle of Newbattle. As soon as she was settled there James hurried to her side. ' Darting,' says an eyewitness, 'like a hawk on its quarry, he eagerly entered her chamber, and found her playing at cards : he then, after an embrace, entertained her by his performance on the clavichord

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and the lute: on taking leave he sprung upon a beautiful courser without putting his foot in the stirrup, and pushing the animal to the top of his speed, left his train far behind.'

The two following days were occupied by feasting, music and dancing, and on 7 August Margaret commenced her journey to Edinburgh preparatory to her state entry into the city with her husband. She was richly adorned, wearing a gown of cloth of gold with a purfle of black velvet and a necklace of pearls and precious stones.

When she was half-way to Edinburgh she was met by the King and a company of knights. James leapt from his charger, and mounting one of the palfreys asked her to get up in a pillion behind him. She did so; and the King and Queen entered their capital on one horse like two country people. Naturally the populace applauded to the echo. Just outside the city a tournament on a small scale took place, and a deer hunt followed. When the procession reached the gate of the city an angel flew down from the windows above it and presented Margaret with the civic keys. All the streets were decorated, and there were many allegorical tableaux. The King and Queen dismounted at the church of Holyrood, entered and knelt before the altar. The prayer ended, the King led the Queen to Holyrood Palace, and then wished her good-bye; they supped in separate apartments, but later James again visited Margaret and joined her in a dance. The next day, 8 August, they were married in Holyrood Church by the Archbishops of York and Glasgow. The bride wore white and gold damask bordered with crimson velvet with a crown and collar of pearls and precious stones; the King a robe of white damask figured with gold, a jacket slashed with crimson satin and bordered with black velvet, a waistcoat of cloth of gold, scarlet hose and a black bonnet buttoned with a huge ruby, and carrying his sword.

At the subsequent banquet the King caused the Queen to be served before him, and when the officers-of-arms began to cry the largesse of the King and Queen, James interrupted saying, 'It sufficeth to cry her.' At last, after great rejoicings, the day came to an end. • William Dunbar celebrated it in his poem *The Thistle and the Rose*.

MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND II

Nor hold no other flower in life so dainty
Like the fresh Rose of colour red and white,
For if thou dost, hurt is thine honesty,
Considering that now flower is so perfitte,
So full of virtue, pleasance, or delight,
So full of blissful angel-like beauty,
Imperial with honour and dignity.

is the poet's tribute to his Queen.

The festivities concluded with the coronation of Margaret in the Parliament Hall, in the presence of all the members of the three estates of the kingdom.

Notwithstanding all the glory and chivalrous attention she received, Margaret's first letter to her father from Edinburgh was a discontented one : she appeared to be jealous of James's friendship with Lord Surrey, and said that 'this king here cannot forbear the company of him at no time of day,' and that if her chamberlain would speak anything for her cause, Surrey 'hath such words unto him that he dare speak no further.' From this letter it seems probable that at the early age of thirteen Margaret was fully imbued with the Tudor egotism, which demanded the fulfilment of its desire regardless of cost.

The pipes of peace soon changed to bugle horns, and a rebellion in the Highlands caused the king to lead his army northwards. When by victory he restored peace he turned his attention to foreign affairs. Since the war concerning the division of Naples had broken out in 1503 France had taken practically no interest in her ancient ally, but now that Spanish arms had triumphed over hers, and a firm alliance had been concluded between England and Spain, Louis XII. felt that friendly relationship with James IV. was his one hope in case of a renewal of the war ; negotiations were therefore opened, which, as it transpired, were much to the advantage of the elder monarch, but for the time being all looked bright for Scotland : not only was she closely allied to France, but was on amicable terms with all European countries.

CHAPTER II

Birth of a son. James's pilgrimage. Jane Kennedy. Margaret's illness. Death of the little Prince. Excellent condition of Scotland. King Henry's annoyance at the Franco-Scottish alliance. Arrest of Arran. Death of Henry VII. Accession of Henry VIII. His enmity towards France. James offers to aid Louis. Guerilla warfare with England. Preparations for war. Birth of James V. War with England. Margaret's jealousy of Queen Anne of France. Omens. Flodden. Death of James IV.

ON 10 February, 1506, Margaret's first son was born ; the King's joy was so great that he presented a silver cup filled with a hundred gold pieces to the lady who brought the glad tidings. As the Queen was desperately ill her affectionate husband resolved to make a pilgrimage to Galloway on foot to the shrine of St. Ninian, a saint who, according to his biographer, Ailred, not only worked remedial miracles during his life, but bequeathed similar powers to his relics and his tomb. On this occasion the result of the pilgrimage justified the reputation of the saint ; Margaret took a turn for the better immediately after James reached the shrine. The beauty of the incident is dimmed, however, by the fact that while on this meritorious journey James renewed the acquaintance of Jane Kennedy, who appeared still to have had a strong hold on his affection. The renewal of the friendship was unpropitious, as Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (Bell-the-Cat, of historic fame), was wooing Jane just then, and contention ensued. But the Earl, dauntless if elderly, and not to be baffled even by the king, carried off the lady by sheer force, and married her in the teeth of opposition ; as a reward for his temerity James imprisoned him.

When Margaret's recovery was complete, she and James made a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to St. Ninian in great state ; but this time the saint failed her, as her health became worse after the journey and was not restored for some years. In February 1507 the little prince whose birth had caused so

much rejoicing died, and Margaret's illness was increased by the shock.

James was not only an excellent soldier but an able statesman also, and during his reign many good laws were made and enforced. In the words of Tytler, 'the husbandman laboured in his lands in security, the merchant traversed the country with his goods, the foreign trader visited the markets of the various burghs and seaports, fearless of plunder or interruption.' James was so assured of the safety of the roads in his kingdom that one day in 1508 he set out from Stirling on horseback, quite alone, wearing a riding-cloak, and carrying a hunting-knife, and twenty-six pounds in his purse for travelling expenses. He rode all the way to St. Duthois, of Ross, where he heard a Mass, and then returned to Stirling with all the glories of a royal progress; but his pride in the safety of the roads which he had proved by his lonely ride was excessive.

On 2 April, 1509, Henry VII. died, and Henry VIII., young, vigorous, and headstrong, mounted the English throne. James sent ambassadors to congratulate his brother-in-law on his accession and to ratify existing treaties. Although married to a Spanish princess Henry did not share his father's jealous antipathy to France, and in the first year of his reign he concluded a treaty with Louis XII., by which peace between the two countries seemed firmly established.

In the meantime, James had been doing everything in his power to improve his navy; and when it had become powerful, he decided to add a finishing touch to its grandeur by building the largest warship ever seen. The vessel, the *Great Michael*, took two years to build, and the King himself superintended with keen interest the creation of this 'wonder of the seas.'

After Henry VIII. had been on the English throne for two years the political aspect of Europe changed considerably. Henry revived the claim of Edward III. and Henry V. to the crown of France. And Pope Julius II. and Ferdinand I. of Spain were ready to assist any scheme for the conquest of Louis's armies, which had hitherto been successful under Chevalier Bayard and Gaston de Foix. All three rulers determined to drive the French out of the Italian States, and an alliance called the Holy League was established.

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James remained loyal to France notwithstanding his treaty with England, and proceeded to raise troops for the assistance of his ally.

In the midst of all this excitement a boy, afterwards James V., was born at Linlithgow Palace on 10 April, 1512. When Henry heard of the closer alliance between James IV. and Louis XII., and of the former's martial preparations, and being desirous of peaceful relations with Scotland while pursuing the French, again sent Dr. West to Edinburgh to negotiate an alliance, and also to congratulate James on the birth of his son. Margaret, whose position as Princess of England as well as Queen of Scotland rendered her a probable mediatrix, interviewed the ambassador; unhappily she opened proceedings by asking if her legacy had been sent, and when Dr. West replied that unless James signed the treaty Henry would not only keep the legacy but invade Scotland and take its best towns, her anger and annoyance with her brother militated against the prospect of peace. However, she dissembled her wrath sufficiently to send an agreeable letter to Henry, and presents to Queen Katharine and Princess Mary, and to invite the ambassador to Linlithgow to see the baby prince, whom he described as 'a right fair child, and a large one for his age.'

After Dr. West's return to England another demand was made by James for Margaret's legacy, offering war as an alternative to its payment. Henry replied in most gracious terms, promising to send the legacy, and moreover, on the condition that James would agree to the peace, to create him Duke of York, and acknowledge his son heir to the English crown in case no direct heir should be born.

Contemporaneously with this courteous correspondence English and Scottish ships were skirmishing on the high seas, the borderers indulging in guerilla warfare, and the King of France striving to prevail upon James to declare war with England. As the preparations already made had exhausted the Treasury, he replied that Louis must supply the required funds. Louis agreed, and sent a small squadron laden with money and provisions. Henry, more anxious than ever for the Scottish treaty, again sent Dr. West with proposals of peace, but as James insisted upon Henry's making peace with France as a necessary

condition, the negotiations fell through. With characteristic generosity James promised not to open hostilities against England without previously sending a declaration of war by a herald; if Henry went to France with his army ample time should be allowed him to return and defend his kingdom. This is the first notable instance of James's extraordinary chivalry. Whatever the result might be he would never take the slightest advantage of an enemy, and he would always endeavour to place himself in a position of danger equal to, if not exceeding, that in which his followers stood. He told D'Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, that his subjects served him with their persons and goods in just or unjust quarrels, exactly as he wished, and that therefore he did not think it right to begin any warlike undertaking without being himself first in the danger. In that one sentence is the keynote to the King's character, and the explanation of Flodden.

In 1512-13 the Scottish nation did not desire war with England; and the English were equally anxious to be at peace with their northern neighbours. James himself, as a soldier, could not fail to see the extreme difficulty and danger that an invasion of the stronger country would entail; but he was allied to the King of France, and had promised to help him in time of war, and if the invasion of England was a part of the fulfilment of that promise England must be invaded. In order to prevent any triumph of good sense over noble emotion in James, Queen Anne of France wrote and appealed to him for protection against the treachery of Henry, describing herself as an unhappy damsel surrounded by dangers, and sending 14,000 crowns and a ring from her own finger. She concluded her high-flown letter by imploring him 'to advance, were it but three steps, into English ground for the sake of his mistress, as she had already suffered much misconstruction in defence of his honour, and the delay of his expedition.' Naturally, any hesitancy that may have lingered in James's mind out of deference to the opinions of his nobles and Queen, vanished as a mist before the sun. He issued writs for the general muster of all his forces, and ordered every ship in his service to be put to sea; and sent Lion Herald post-haste to Henry at Terrouen with a letter containing a declaration of war on the grounds that Henry had imprisoned

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and hanged several Scots ; withheld Margaret's legacy, and slain Andrew Barton, 'breaking peace and amity by the deed.' Henry's angry reply did not reach James, as Lion Herald was detained in Flanders till after Flodden.

Even the chivalrous James did not think it incumbent upon his honour to await the return of his herald before commencing military operations. The first drawback he encountered was the ancient feudal custom that the force, both naval and military, should be commanded by the great nobles. With regard to the army this arrangement was satisfactory enough, as social position went far in making a military commander followed and obeyed, and every well-born youth was trained in the art of war ; an inefficient soldier might be a good general on account of his influence over his followers. With the navy it was quite different ; unless the commander of a fleet had some technical knowledge of navigation the result was sure to be disaster. James was now to realize this, but at an enormous cost. He gave the command of the navy to the Earl of Arran, and despatched him to France with thirteen large ships, including the *Great Michael*, and ten smaller vessels, carrying three thousand men. Instead of sailing for France Arran made for Ireland ; stormed the town of Carrickfergus, took it, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost cruelty. James, incensed at such an outrage being committed in his name, sent Sir Andrew Wood to supersede Arran in his command ; but before the great admiral arrived the fleet had set out again for France. That it reached its destination was certain, but its ultimate fate is veiled in obscurity. Very few ships returned to Scotland, and of the remainder some may have been sold to the French government, and others converted into ships of merchandise. The record of the *Great Michael* alone is known : she was purchased from the Duke of Albany by the French Government for 40,000 francs. In the meantime Lord Home, the Lord Chamberlain, crossed the English border with 8000 men, and proceeded to lay waste the country. He was surprised by the English army, under Sir William Bulwer, at the Broomhouse Pass, and utterly routed. On hearing of this defeat, James resolved to command his army himself and invade England.

The war had been deprecated by both Queen and Council, and James's intention to lead his forces to the front was sincerely deplored by them and by the people generally. The Queen's objection was enhanced by personal feeling, of which jealousy of the influence of the elderly and invalid Queen of France was a considerable factor. Anne of Bretagne had grievously offended her by writing James 'ane love letter.' She tried first to dissuade her husband from his rash purpose by vituperation of the rival queen, whom she described as a woman twice married by means of divorce, and of far from exemplary character. This failing, she related inauspicious dreams—one, that in a vision she saw James dashed to pieces at the foot of a precipice—another, that all her jewels turned to pearls, the emblem of widowhood, in her hands. James remaining unconvinced, she had recourse to apparent miracles; but if events do cast their shadows before them, the extraordinary occult incidents that preceded Flodden may have been authentic 'warnings' and not fictitious ones, arranged by the Queen as most historians surmise.

One evening shortly before the army was to start, when James was hearing vespers at the church of St. Michael, at Linlithgow, a man, blue robed with long yellow hair and carriage of majestic dignity, mysteriously appeared in the church, and, to the amazement of all present, approached the kneeling King and said in clear tones: 'Sire, I am sent to warn thee not to proceed in this present undertaking—for if thou dost it shall not fare well with thyself or those who go with thee. Further, it hath been enjoined me to bid thee shun the familiar society and councils of women, lest they occasion thy disgrace and destruction.' All present were seized with superstitious dread and horror, and the mysterious stranger, 'like the blink of the whiff of the whirlwind, vanished away and could be no more seen.'

An even more striking augury occurred a few days later in the market-place at Edinburgh: at midnight a herald, proclaiming himself to be an emissary from Pluto, sounded a trumpet and summoned a muster-roll of the Scots nobility and burghers under arms to appear before his master within forty days. All who heard were paralysed with fear except

one man, a lawyer, who appealed from the summons, and said he would rely on 'the mercies of God.' 'But, whether,' says Lindsay of Pitscottie, 'this summondis was proclaimed by vaine personnes for their pastymes, or it was ane spirit, I cannot tell. But . . . Verrilie, he who caused me to chronicle this was . . . in the town in the meanetyme ; . . . and he swore efter the field thair was not ane man that was called at that tyme that escaped except that ane man that appealed from thair judgments.'

Notwithstanding these ill-omened portents the army set out for the border, and entered England on 22 August, 1513. While encamped on the banks of the Till, a tributary of the Tweed, James caused a law to be made by which the heir of any who should fall in the campaign should be free from legacy duty. Two days after crossing the border the Scottish army took two castles, one, Ford Castle, was held by Lady Heron, whose husband was a prisoner in Edinburgh. She was beautiful, fascinating, and alluring, and James was far more her captive than she his. He wasted several days in dalliance upon her, and the Scottish chroniclers assert that she not only deterred the King from his military duties but betrayed his ill-advised confidences to Lord Surrey. The delay she occasioned enabled the English forces to collect and Lord Thomas Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, to join his father with five thousand men. The Scots, either from lack of proper provision or disgust at the King's folly, deserted daily in battalions.

Eventually James took up an excellent position on the crest of Flodden, a hill near the banks of the Till. On 4 September Surrey sent a herald to remonstrate against this position, which he said was more like a fortress or camp than the 'indifferent ground' on which a battle should be fought. James made no reply to this remarkable message, but when Surrey sent to say that he wished to offer battle on the following Friday, James cordially agreed, notwithstanding the strain further delay would make upon the troops. Everything was more like the eve of a tournament than of a battle, messages of a most courtly character passed between the hostile commanders. On the appointed day Surrey led his army over the

narrow Twissel Bridge within gunshot of the Scottish artillery, but James would not permit a shot to be fired, though the captain of the gunners fell at his feet in supplication, and the head of the Douglasses left the field in anger at such quixotism. In answer to all petitions the King replied that he would meet his antagonists on equal terms, and that he scorned to avail himself of such an advantage.

Surrey therefore was enabled to arrange his army in the most advantageous position possible on the plain of Brankston at the foot of Flodden Hill.

Surrey was an immeasurably greater general than James, and the English arrows more deadly than the Scottish heavy artillery, but the great misfortune, says Burton, 'was that the Scots were led by a champion bent on feats of personal prowess rather than by a general. The King was in front fighting with his own hand, thus signally justifying what the Spanish ambassador has said of him. With the true spirit of the soldier, the flower of the army gathered round him and took their share in the result of his lamentable blunder. Thus the chief gentry of Scotland were gathered into a cluster for slaughter. Leaders were drawn from their posts, and their followers left to themselves, were broken and dispersed. Ten thousand Scots were reported at the English Court to be killed. The King himself fell close to the English commander, to whom he seems to have been fighting his way in the hope of a personal combat.'

During the night the surviving Scots hurried back to their country, telling all whom they encountered

Of the stern strife and carnage drear,
Of Flodden's fatal field
When shivered was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield.

CHAPTER III

Margaret's grief. Coronation of James v. Margaret marries Angus. Deposed from Regency. Albany Regent. Margaret struggles for the possession of her sons. Her escape to England. Birth of Margaret Douglas. Her husband and friends desert her. Arrives in London. Returns to Scotland. Her demands for money. King Henry supports Angus. Margaret's indiscreet friendship for Albany. She prevents a war. She endeavours to gain power by the erection of her son. Albany defeated by the English. Albany returns to France. James v. erected.

MARGARET was at Linlithgow when the news of the disaster arrived. Although her grief at her husband's death was profound it did not blind her to the necessities of the moment, and she at once started for Perth, convened Parliament, and made arrangements for her son's coronation. Meanwhile her grief must have been intensified by tidings from England concerning the discourteous treatment of the body of James iv. As there had been a Papal edict against his taking arms it was supposed that no Christian funeral had taken place; the information that he was buried in the monastery at Sheen did not arrive till a later date. Also there were rumours that James was not dead, having escaped from Flodden, and had either gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or had been carried off, and imprisoned by the Homes. In future years Margaret made use of these reports to assist in obtaining her divorce from Angus. At the present time all her energies were centred in arranging the coronation of James v., and getting her position as regent ratified by Parliament, as, although James had stated in his will that she should govern during her son's minority, the custom of the country was that the man next of kin to the king should rule during his childhood.

The 'Mourning Coronation' took place at Scone on 29

September, and when the crown was put on James's infant brow his bereaved subjects could not restrain their tears for the fallen heroes of Flodden and their knight-errant King.

When the melancholy ceremony was over Margaret was made regent and tutrix of the king, and Stirling Castle appointed for their residence. In the meantime Surrey had retired, realizing the impossibility of supporting an invading army without the help of a fleet, and the attacks from England diminished to mere border raids. Immediately after Flodden Margaret had written privately to Henry for a truce, pleading that the king of Scotland was 'very small and tender' being 'only one year and five months old.' Henry granted the truce, and Scotland was allowed a chance to recuperate. But the golden opportunity was lost, as the nobles that had survived Flodden entered into warfare with each other, and the appointment of prelates in place of those who had been slain almost caused a civil war between the upholders of the regent and the Church. No sooner was Margaret established in the regency than a party arose who objected to the government of a woman and wished to recall the Duke of Albany (Lord High Admiral of France and son of James the Third's brother who had fled to France to escape fraternal wrath) and make him regent. An envoy was sent, but Louis XII., mindful of his treaty with Henry, objected to Albany's departure.

Margaret's position was arduous in the extreme: she had to rule nobles at war with each other and far from loyal to herself, and people almost starving from the devastation of crops and cattle caused by war. A calm firm woman with a powerful mind and great tact might have governed with some success, but though Margaret's intellect was excellent her temperament was impulsive and passionate. She was remarkably like Henry VIII.; an imperious will and uncontrolled emotions characterized them both, but while his political position enabled him to rule circumstances, hers left her absolutely at their mercy. When Henry wished to divorce Katharine of Aragon and marry Anne Boleyn, although the great powers of Europe were against him, he accomplished his desire by the strength of his position as King of England and champion of the Reformation, and in its achievement became the only monarch in Western Europe

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free from Papal control. Margaret attempted a similar feat, and lost all she hoped to gain except the gratification of an emotion. But it is unfair to describe Margaret as weak and Henry as strong. Probably had she been forty and absolute ruler of a powerful country, when the psychological moment arrived she would have met it in as satisfactory a way as her brother did; and had Henry been twenty-five and the unpopular regent of a disaffected country when he essayed the divorce, Katharine in all likelihood would have remained his consort till death, or the Tudor dynasty would have ended with the second king. Perhaps Charles VI. of France was more responsible than is generally imagined for the lack of mental balance in some of his descendants: Margaret's rashness and Henry's selfish cruelty may have been inherited from the mad Valois King.

After Margaret had ruled her turbulent nobles for six months her son Alexander was born, and immediately created Duke of Ross.

Soon afterwards Louis XII. made her an offer of marriage, but Henry, most unwilling that such a close union between France and Scotland should be consummated, wrote strenuously to dissuade his dearest sister from consenting. Margaret dutifully obeyed his behest.

Henry's policy was to prevent a strong French influence in Scotland, as it would militate against his great wish to rule that country by means of his sister and nephew; and he always exerted his diplomacy to prevent a Franco-Scottish alliance.

In order to lessen the possibility of a union between France and Scotland, Henry arranged one between the former country and England, consolidating it by giving his younger sister Mary in marriage to Louis XII., and so eliminating Margaret's chance of the French crown matrimonial. Louis, who realized the advantage offered by an alliance with prosperous England over one with crushed Scotland, agreed to Henry's terms, accepted the hand of the Princess and promised to keep Albany from Scotland. On 9 October, 1514, the wedding was celebrated and a treaty concluded between the three countries; but the cool and cautious manner in which Scotland was mentioned

showed her rulers their folly in having sacrificed so much for their ancient ally.

Margaret now began to weary of widowhood and long for manly aid in the many difficulties of her position. A wise marriage with the approbation of the nobles might have proved advantageous to both Queen and country, and although by James the Fourth's will Margaret would cease to be regent if she remarried, the Council if they so desired it might have overruled that clause. Wisdom not being Margaret's salient characteristic, it naturally became meekly subservient to emotion in the question of marriage. She met the handsome, fascinating, and accomplished Earl of Angus, and having promptly succumbed to his many charms, determined to marry him, notwithstanding that he was affianced, and devoted, to Lady Jane Stuart, Lord Traquair's daughter.

Angus was at the time eighteen and a widower, having at an early age married Lady Margaret Hepburn, who died within a year. His father had been killed at Flodden, and he had recently succeeded his grandfather, the notorious Bell-the-Cat, to the titles and estates of the most powerful family in Scotland. Had he been older and wiser, and had the Council been consulted, the marriage might have been more successful, but he was, to quote Lord Dacre, 'childishly young, and attended by no wise councillors.' The manner in which the marriage was performed was the most foolish imaginable. Margaret persuaded Angus to agree to a clandestine wedding and, only informing his maternal grandfather, Lord Drummond, who arranged ways and means, they were secretly married on 4 August, 1514, at Kinnoul Church, by Walter Drummond, Dean of Dunblane.

Both the Queen and Angus thought that the union of the regency with the powerful house of Douglas would establish them as rulers of Scotland and guardians of the King, but they failed to recognize that the method of their marriage would alienate the Council, and that the elevation of one powerful family would create the envy and enmity of the others. The clans were more like hereditary principalities than ordinary noble families, and Douglas, Hamilton, Huntly, Gordon, and Home were at this time the most powerful. When the secret

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of the marriage was divulged the four last, regardless of past feuds, bound themselves together against Angus and the Queen. Margaret increased their wrath by giving the high offices of state to her husband's relatives. In September, Elphinstone, the learned Bishop of Aberdeen, died on the eve of his translation to the archbishopric of St. Andrews and the primacy, and the Queen illegally appointed Gavin Douglas to these exalted posts, notwithstanding that Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews, had been elected by the canons, and Forman, Bishop of Moray, nominated by the Pope. A triangular conflict ensued, which ended in Douglas retaining the primacy and archbishopric, and the other aspirants receiving propitiatory emoluments.

In the midst of all this turmoil and unpopularity it was comforting for Margaret to learn that Henry VIII. commended her marriage. She attributed his approval to brotherly love and desire for her happiness, not realizing that she had given him a further opportunity of influencing Scottish politics by marrying the head of a family that had always courted the alliance of English kings, and relied on their support against its rightful sovereigns. As soon as it was understood that the Queen and Angus were the leaders of the English party, several nobles, including Huntly and Home, joined forces with them, but the majority under Arran, Lennox, Glencairn, and Chancellor Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, supported the French alliance and desired that Albany should be called to the regency. Arran and his friends declared war against Angus, and once more Scotland was the scene of civil strife.

Henry, who was informed by Dacre of all Scottish occurrences, invited Margaret to England with her sons, but she was at this time too wise to accept the invitation, remembering the consequences of James the First's visit to England. Unhappily the secret leaked out, and the Council believed that Margaret was preparing to cross the border, and in consequence kept her under close surveillance. Shortly afterwards the Council solemnly deposed the Queen from the regency and sent Sir William Comyn, Lyon King at Arms, to inform Angus that 'he must forthwith appear before the Lords of the Council to answer for his boldness in marrying the Queen without their assent and recommendation.' When he approached Margaret,

Sir William addressed her as 'my lady the King's mother,' instead of by her royal title. Lord Drummond, who was present, was so enraged at the insult that he boxed the herald's ears, an act without precedent, which cost him both lands and liberty later.

Angus did not obey the summons, but instead hastened to Perth, arrested Beaton, the Lord Chancellor, and taking the great seal by force, assumed the Lord Chancellorship himself. The indignant nobility flew to arms to avenge the insult to Church and law, and the injured prelate fulminated ecclesiastical anathemas against the Queen and her adherents, so that 'there was no service done in the Queen's grace's presence nor yet in the diocese where the persons dwelt.' When Parliament met the factions were so discordant that it was decided to prorogue it till Albany should come and rule the segregated country.

In January 1515 Louis XII. died, and was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Francis I., who had no objection to his Lord High Admiral the Duke of Albany visiting Scotland for an indefinite period. The Duke therefore set out as soon as possible and landed in Dumbarton on 18 May. Proceeding slowly to Edinburgh he was formally installed regent on 10 July. Margaret was wise enough to disguise her jealousy of the man who would supplant her, received him graciously, and did all in her power to gain his friendship. Albany was an accomplished courtier and Margaret a beautiful woman, so at first their relations were most cordial. Indeed, throughout his connexion with her, Albany, though often sorely tried, behaved with great courtesy and consideration.

At first Albany's regency prospered, but after a time his inability to understand Scottish feeling and method of government and his obvious sympathy with all things French caused dissatisfaction, and the appointment of Frenchmen to high offices provoked the jealousy of the nobles; nevertheless the majority of them sacrificed personal feeling to loyalty to their country, supported Albany and helped him to form the strong government which was to save Scotland from internecine strife. Unhappily for Margaret the greatest attribute of strength in the eyes of that government was the possession of the person of the King. Parliament convened to discuss the question of his

guardianship, nominated eight lords, four of whom were to be chosen by lot, and from them Margaret was to select three to be the guardians of the King and his brother. Having sent to acquaint Margaret of this resolution, the four chosen peers proceeded from the Tolbooth to the Castle to put the new law into effect. All the town turned out to see the King and the Duke taken from their mother, but those who imagined that Margaret would tamely submit to being deprived of her children were vastly mistaken in her character. Arraying herself in robes of state, she received the deputation at the Castle gate, holding James by the hand. The Duke of Ross in his nurse's arms and Angus were close behind her. Nothing could have been more effective : a beautiful golden-haired queen, with anger flashing from her blue eyes, surrounded by her two small children and handsome, stalwart husband.

The Queen stopped the peers as they approached the gates, and commanded them to stand and declare their errand before drawing nearer to the sovereign. They replied that they were sent by Parliament to receive the persons of the king and his brother. On hearing this Margaret ordered the portcullis to be lowered, and answered through the bars : ' I hold this castle by the gift of my late husband, your sovereign, who also entrusted to me the keeping and government of my children, nor shall I yield them to any person whatsoever ; but I respect the Parliament and require a respite of six days to consider their mandate. For my charge is infinite in import, and, alas, my councillors are few.' Angus did not show such courage, but endeavoured to persuade Margaret to obey the Parliament, and, for fear of losing his life and lands, insisted upon signing a document to the effect that he consented to the surrender of the children. Margaret, however, uninfluenced by such pusillanimity, remained firm, and the deputation was obliged to retire discomfited. The people admired their Queen's courage and applauded her vociferously.

On the fifth day Margaret wrote to Albany to say that if James v. and his brother were left in her care she would maintain them on her dowry and submit that they should be under the guardianship of the Earl Marshal, Lord Keith, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Home, Sir Robert Lauder of Bass, and

Angus. Albany declined to accede to this appeal, and regarded it as a refusal to obey the order of the Parliament. On hearing of the futility of her petition Margaret, recognizing the impossibility of holding Edinburgh Castle against the Regent, fled with her children to Stirling, where she was greatly beloved of the people. Angus retired to Tantallon and Home to Newark, where he entered into negotiations with Lord Dacre on behalf of the Queen.

Finding that Margaret did not intend to yield her children at their command, the Estates resorted to force and ordered the nobles of Scotland to assemble with their retainers to blockade Stirling Castle and capture the King. Angus was summoned with the others, but he had the temerity to refuse to assist at the siege of his wife and queen. Instead, he hastened to her assistance with a company of sixty horse, but when he found the castle surrounded by four hundred soldiers, he realized the impotence of his force. He, therefore, took a few faithful followers and entered the castle by a secret way in order to have a few minutes' conversation with his wife. In spite of all precautions he was observed, and only escaped through the bravery of his attendants, sixteen of whom were slain in his defence. His brother, with a small force, remained to advise and defend the Queen, but, on the arrival of Albany with seven thousand men, fled for his life, taking his soldiers with him. Even a high spirited princess, fighting for the possession of her children, could not hold a fortress with a few domestics against a large army, so Margaret intimated to Albany that she was ready to capitulate and obey the Government.

On 4 August she received the Regent at the castle gate, and putting the keys into the little King's hand, told him to present them. Albany knelt to receive this token of submission, and then having embraced James, told Margaret that she might see her children as often as she liked, but that no control over their actions could be permitted. Thus, in the kindest and most courteous manner possible, Albany deprived Margaret of real power in Scotland. She appeared to appreciate his graciousness in appointing the peers she had selected as guardians, and in the Council book it is written that 'the Duke pleased the Queen in that behalf and other ways.' Her

pleasure was, however, more apparent than substantial. It was expedient to submit to the all-powerful Albany, but he had deprived her of authority and frustrated her cherished plan (definitely formulated since the edict that the Government should have control of the Royal children) to take the King and the Duke to England, and keep them there till the nobles agreed to her terms: a person of Margaret's temperament would feel intensely the abrogation of her power and the failure of her scheme.

Albany even dictated her letters to Henry; and it was only by sending him a message through one of Lord Dacre's agents to the effect that spontaneous epistles were signed 'your loving sister,' and supervised ones 'Margaret R.,' that she could acquaint her brother with the true state of affairs.

In spite of apparently insuperable difficulties, and with the advice of Lord Dacre, Margaret resolved to make an attempt to escape with the King. She therefore retired to Linlithgow Palace, presumably to await the birth of her child, and to elude the vigilance of Albany reported that she was dangerously ill. Having made her arrangements satisfactorily, she sent for Angus, and on 15 September, the day after his arrival, they slipped out of the palace, accompanied by a few faithful servants. They were soon met by Lord Home and a troop of horsemen, who escorted them to Angus's border fortress, Tantallon Castle. Margaret was afraid to enter England without express permission, and aware that Albany would certainly find her if she remained at Tantallon, she took refuge in the adjacent nunnery of Coldstream, where she was within riding distance of Lord Dacre, who frequently visited her.

The scheme to abduct the King entirely failed. It had been arranged that one of Albany's towns should be fired in order to take his attention from Stirling, and that simultaneously Home, who, as Lord Chamberlain, had access to them, should carry off the Royal children and rejoin Margaret on the border. The plot was discovered and thwarted and Home outlawed: he escaped, however, and was able to carry the bad news to the Queen and Angus.

As soon as he heard of Margaret's escape from Linlithgow and intention to visit England, Albany despatched a

messenger with propitiatory letters, promising that if she would return she should be put in possession of Stirling Castle, and all her rights and revenues as Queen-Dowager, except those forfeited by her marriage, and allowed to see her children as often as she wished. These terms were to hold good until she was well enough to travel back to Edinburgh. Had Margaret accepted Albany's proposal, Henry's plan to use her as a means of obtaining influence in Scottish affairs would have fallen through, but Dacre assured her that the Regent's letter was insincere, frightened her by saying that he was seeking her with an army of forty thousand men, in order to take her to Edinburgh by force, and persuaded her to refuse the offer. Thus the great opportunity for a conciliation was missed, and Margaret elected to ally herself with England against the country of which her son was Sovereign. The only explanation of her action after Albany's generous offer is, that her state of health prevented her from reasoning the question out for herself, and rendered her susceptible to Dacre's persuasion.

At length King Henry's messenger arrived with the expected invitation, and Margaret started for Morpeth, Lord Dacre's castle near the border, where everything was ready for her reception. Unhappily, her health broke down before she arrived, and she was obliged to stay at Harbottle, a grim fortress garrisoned against the Scottish borderers, who were unusually turbulent just then. Lord Dacre, who was in command, refused to admit the Scottish attendants, and was only persuaded by sheer necessity to receive the Queen herself.

Forty-eight hours later, on 8 October, Margaret Douglas was born. After a youth full of adventure, but void of pleasure, she married the Earl of Lennox, and eventually became the mother-in-law of Mary Queen of Scots, and consequently the ancestress of subsequent Sovereigns of Great Britain. Little is known of her early life, but occasionally she is mentioned in contemporary records as being at Holyrood with her mother, or at St. James's with her father.

On 10 October Margaret wrote to inform Albany of the birth of her daughter, and notwithstanding her concessions at Stirling, to demand restoration to the regency and to the tutelage of her children, according to her late husband's will,

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and to point out that she had been compelled to fly from Scotland as her life was in danger. Instead of regarding the letter as an hysterical effusion of an overwrought woman and temporizing, Albany took it seriously and passed it on to the Council, who sternly replied that the choice of a Regent was the prerogative of the three Estates, not of the King, that Albany had been legally appointed and with her approval, and that she had by remarrying deprived herself of the guardianship of the Royal children, therefore it was impossible to grant her demands. Albany, however, wrote a private letter in which he repeated the terms offered in September, and besought her to return; but Margaret, distrusting any arrangement by which, instead of gaining the authority she desired, she would be dependent upon Albany's generosity, again refused his conditions.

1591.
On 15 October, Angus, Arran, Home, and several other Scottish nobles entered into a bond to resist the Regent and remove the Royal children from his guardianship, and the knowledge of their loyalty cheered the Queen greatly. In November she was sufficiently recovered to travel to Morpeth Castle, where she and her baby could enjoy the comforts necessary to their condition. But the journey was too much for Margaret after the trials and privations of the last few months, and she became seriously ill immediately after her arrival. The death of the Duke of Ross at the age of one year and nine months, on 18 December, overwhelmed her with grief, and naturally retarded her recovery; the rumour that the prince had been poisoned by the Regent added to her pain, and the feeling that if she had been with her child he would not have died, weighed heavily upon her mind.

Troubles never came singly to Margaret Tudor, and now a change of European politics was the occasion of her greater distress. Henry VIII. entered into a league with the Emperor to drive the French out of Italy, and before sending troops abroad it was necessary to be on amiable terms with Scotland. Albany also being anxious for peace, a truce between the two countries was arranged on 17 January to extend till Whitsuntide. Angus and his friends were therefore between Scylla and Charybdis in the shape of their own offended rulers and

their faithless supporters. Recognizing their impotence, and feeling that it would be less grievous to lose honour than lands or liberty, they abandoned their Queen, although she was dangerously ill, and offered their allegiance to Albany, who accepted it and restored their forfeited possessions. Margaret never forgave Angus for this cowardly desertion, although she received him kindly when he returned to Morpeth.

Shortly afterwards Henry VIII. invited Margaret and her recalcitrant husband to London. They both arranged to go, and a suitable escort was sent to accompany the invalid Queen on her journey. Although he had accepted his brother-in-law's invitation with alacrity, Angus's heart failed him at the last moment, and when on 7 April all were ready to start he was missing; it was subsequently ascertained that he had retired to the security of the borders. Margaret was deeply hurt; that her husband should again abandon her was deplorable, but that he should humiliate her in the eyes of the English courtiers was mortifying in the extreme. His conduct eliminated the remaining fragments of her affection for him, and the anger caused by his first desertion was crystallized by his second into an implacable and inexorable hate.

That she became happier as she neared London is shown by a letter written to Henry from Stoney Stratford:—

‘DEAREST BROTHER,—As heartily as I can, I recommend me unto you, and let you wit that yesternight I came hither, so being comforted of you in my journey in many and sundry wise that, loving be to our Lord God, I am in right good health, and as joyous of my said journey towards you as any woman may be in coming to her brother as I have great cause and am most desirous now to come to your presence, and have sight of your person, in whom, next to God, is mine only trust and confidence. . . .—Your loving sister,
MARGARET’

On 3 May she entered London, according to Hall's Chronicle, ‘riding behind Sir Thomas Parr on a white palfrey. She was richly dressed, with a great company of lords and ladies. She came first to Baynards Castle, and from thence she was convoyed by water to Greenwich Palace, where she was received right joyously by the King, her brother, Queen Katharine, and the French Queen, her sister.’

Gay functions and festivals were held in her honour, and the Londoners heartily acclaimed her as she passed by. After the sufferings and humiliations of the last three years, applause and popularity were dear to the deposed Regent.

As Margaret had brought nothing of value from Scotland, and had, since her arrival in England, received nothing from Albany but her jewels, she depended upon Henry for her maintenance. The fervour of her reception by him blinded her to his dislike of her ever-increasing expenditure, and she continued to petition him and Wolsey for funds to meet the demands of her open-handed extravagance. Moreover, she wearied them with reiterations of her grievances and constant complaints of Albany, and it was only by indiscreet revelations of his plans that she was able to command their attention.

In June 1516 Scottish ambassadors came to London to arrange the renewal of the truce, and Henry made it a condition that Albany should not only be removed from the regency, but banished from the kingdom, and, in a letter to the Estates, pointed out that should a disaster befall the little King, suspicion would certainly rest upon the Regent, who was the next heir to the throne, and also that Margaret's revenue should be paid. Contrary to the expectations of Henry and Margaret, Albany's position was strengthened rather than injured by the ultimatum. The Estates replied that they had perfect confidence in him, and that the guardians of the King were the same as his mother had chosen. An attempt was made to collect Margaret's revenues, but although most drastic methods were pursued, only a hundred and fourteen pounds was paid out of £14,334 that was owed to her. Her financial position, therefore, was worse than before, as hitherto she had borrowed money on the understanding that she would pay it back when her revenues arrived; now it was obvious that her resources were practically nil, and Wolsey, aware of the fact, became less generous.

In the spring of 1517 Margaret expressed a desire to return to Scotland. Whether her dependence upon Henry, and his obvious reluctance to provide for her with the munificence she required, made a further prolongation of her visit intolerable, or a rumour that James V. was ill caused her to wish to see him,

is unknown, but it is certain that the news of Albany's contemplated return to France removed any difficulties with regard to her reception. The Estates intimated that they would be happy to welcome her on the condition that she should abstain from all interference with the authority of Albany or his vicegerents. She therefore arranged to leave London in May, and before starting implored Henry to make the restoration of her jointure one of the terms of the peace that was made possible by Albany's departure, but Henry, ever bent on his own interest, disregarded her appeal, and omitted to take this most necessary precaution for her welfare.

Lord and Lady Shrewsbury, with a small train, were appointed to escort her back to Scotland. The route was the same that she had followed as a bride fourteen years before, and the contrast between the two journeys must have been painfully apparent.

At Berwick she was met by Angus, and, knowing how helpful the Douglas influence would be in the accomplishment of her plans to regain the Regency, she agreed to a reconciliation. Unhappily, however, she heard that he had returned to his earlier love, Lady Jane Stuart, and taken her to Douglasdale, where she had become the mother of a daughter. Angus, therefore, was met, not with open arms as he had expected, but with transports of jealousy and vigorous upbraiding. All the same a perfunctory pacification was arranged for political purposes, and perhaps, too, on the Queen's part from a wish to reclaim her husband's straying affections.

She reached Edinburgh on 17 June, and took up her abode in Holyrood Palace. She was cordially received by the councillors but not permitted to visit her son who, on her arrival, had been removed from Edinburgh to Craigmillar. She said in a letter to Wolsey that she thought this incomprehensible, and, evidently mistrusting the ruling powers, asked that Dacre might be authorized to send agents to see how she was treated, and concluded by remarking that if Albany should return, Scotland would be no 'hiding place' for her.

Soon afterwards James was taken ill, and Lord Erskine, his personal guardian, allowed Margaret to see him; but the frequency of her visits aroused the old suspicions that she

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would try to spirit him off to England, and the permission was rescinded by the Council.

The ill-feeling between the parties of Albany and the Queen had been increased shortly before the Regent's departure by the execution of Angus's chief supporter, Lord Home, Lord Chamberlain and Warden of the Border, and his brother. As Home was the only noble of importance who had escaped from Flodden, he was extremely popular, and the sentence given by what was considered a packed jury caused general discontent. To make matters worse, Albany gave the wardenship of the Border to his friend the Sieur de la Bastre, with the additional office of general *chargé d'affaires*. The anger of the Borderers was excessive, and as soon as an opportunity occurred they murdered de la Bastre, and so very nearly caused a breach with France. Margaret sought to take advantage of the coolness with France and the death of Albany's vicegerent to raise her husband to the vacant chancellorship. Angus was entirely at one with his wife in this, and strove his utmost to acquire the chief power in the country. Arran, as the noble most nearly connected with the crown, assumed the office of Warden of the Border, and the first place in the Council. Feuds between the house of Douglas and Hamilton ensued which practically annihilated the best endeavours of the Government for peace. To make confusion worse confounded, Macdonald of Lochalsh raised the standard of rebellion in the Isles.

In the midst of the turmoil Margaret's distresses increased. Owing to Henry's failure to insist on the payment of her jointure by the State she was without funds, and the revenues that could be collected from her personal estates, such as Ettrick Forest, were taken by Angus. Without money or any one to champion her failing cause, she appealed to Lord Dacre for help from England. 'I stand in sore case,' she wrote from Stirling Castle. 'An I get not the King my brother's help, nor my Lord Cardinal's, for such jewels as his grace gave me at my departing, I must put away for money. I have discharged all my servants, because I had nought to give them, scarcely finding meat for the day to sustain myself, and for that I is indebted to my faithful comptroller, Robin Barton, for my sustenance. Lord Dacre, intercede that I may return to live

in England, for the Lords of the Scottish Privy Council prohibit me from seeing my son. I had lieve be dead than live out my life in Scotland. . . . His Grace promised me, at my departing, that Scotland should never have peace from England without I were well done by, which is not done, for I was never so evil; wherefore I beseech his Grace Henry VIII. to remedy it hastily, for all my hope and comfort is in him. And wit you, my lord, this realm stood never as it doeth now, nor never like to have so much evil rule in it, for every lord prideth who may be the greatest party, and have the most friends; and they think to get the King my son into their hands, and then they will rule all as they will. . . . And I see no good for my son nor me.'

Dacre wrote to Henry, who sent Commissioners to insist on the payment of her revenue as Queen-Dowager, and on 15 February, 1519, a full Council assembled at Edinburgh to discuss the matter. As Angus objected to the presence of the English Commissioners, Margaret conducted the case for herself. After sitting for several days the Council decided to accept Margaret's offer to exchange some of her lands for a fixed annual sum to be paid from the royal treasury; also ordered that Angus should sign a document renouncing any claim to her possessions. But these decrees, though passed, were not enforced, and the unhappy Queen remained in precisely the same condition as before.

Angus having failed her again (he tried to cancel his promise to relinquish his claim to her lands), Margaret resolved to divorce him. His conjugal and political infidelity were enough to justify that drastic course, but naturally the nobles were aghast at the announcement. Angus, who would lose most by it, did his utmost to reconcile his indignant wife, but to no effect. In an incredibly short time the nobles had split into two factions quite different from any previous combinations: Arran, Lennox, Fleming, and Maxwell supported the Queen; Crawford, Errol, Glamis, and Gavin Douglas joined issue with Angus. The first object of the Queen's party was the recall of Albany, as he alone could control and punish Angus.

But before it was possible to acquaint Albany with their wish for his return, Scotland was once more in a state of discord nearly approaching civil war. Margaret's spirits had risen

at the prospect of freedom from her husband and friendship with Albany, to whom she had written a cordial letter of invitation, but when Henry Chadsworth, the Prior of the Friars Observant, arrived with letters containing Henry the Eighth's views on divorce in general and hers in particular, her hopes were baffled. Henry and Katharine were horrified at Margaret's proposed conduct, and Chadsworth was not only authorized to deliver letters to her but to improve upon them, and do all he could to convince Margaret of her error. One of Henry's sentences is particularly interesting in connexion with that monarch's own matrimonial fidelity in the future: 'Your ideas of divorce are wicked delusions, inspired by the father of evil, whose malice alone could prompt you to leave your husband, Lord Angus, or unnaturally to stigmatize the fair daughter you had by him.' The Prior added vehement denunciations of his own against Margaret's contemplated crime, with the result that she promised all he asked, but resolved to conceal, in future, her plans from the English Court.

Henry's support of her husband in opposition to herself rendered Margaret's position worse than it was before, and her one hope was in Albany's return and the domination of the French party. Naturally she endeavoured to keep her French aspirations from Henry's knowledge, as she hoped to be consoled in a practical way for her apparent subservience to his wishes with regard to the divorce. It was unfortunate that Henry was with Francis I. when he received a letter from her asking that Albany might return; and more so that the French king should show it to his fellow-monarch. When Dacre heard that she was in correspondence with Francis and Albany, he taxed her with treachery to Henry and the English party, and her reply that the Lords had persuaded her to write the letter by assuring her that it would accrue to her son's advantage, availed nothing. Dacre's faith in her single-mindedness was gone for ever, and Henry perceived that her affectionate submission to his wishes was insincere, and that she was quite willing to make terms with his enemies for an adequate reward.

It was from the knowledge that Margaret was ready to sell her influence to the highest bidder that Henry's dislike of her first sprung. He failed to see that his determination to use her

for his own purposes was equally dishonourable, and to realize that while he was striving for self-aggrandizement and glory, she was fighting against poverty and indignity.

The renewal of the peace between England and France necessitated a conference with the rulers of Scotland, and the French ambassador to St. James's accompanied by Clarencieux herald set out for Edinburgh. Henry instructed Margaret as to his own desires and advised her how to act to her own advantage, which, indirectly, was his also; but unhappily a serious illness prevented her from taking part in the conference, and consequently her affairs received scant attention. Her petitions were granted, but not enforced. Scotland fared badly too; the King of France, strong in his alliance with England, cared little for the pacification of Scotland, and his ambassador plainly told the Estates that if the terms of the treaty were rejected they must no longer expect support from France. They promptly accepted the treaty, and, in accordance with it, the prolongation of the truce with England for another year was proclaimed at Stirling on 30 November, 1520, in the presence of the Council of Regency and the English and French ambassadors.

Angus alone of the Council opposed the treaty, his dignity being hurt that Arran and not he was at the head of affairs; and he showed his resentment by intercepting the ambassadors on their way back to England, and upbraiding them for their contempt of his authority. He then returned to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh and disturbed the city with a series of brawls; only one of which, called the battle of 'Cleanse the Causeway,' has retained a permanent place in history. A party of Angus's enemies sat in conclave in the Church of the Blackfriars considering how the Douglasses might be overwhelmed and Angus taken prisoner. Gavin Douglas, whose preference was naturally for his own house, though as a bishop he professed neutrality, was present, and appealed to Bishop James Beaton, as a minister of peace, to try to conciliate rather than to cause strife. Beaton protested on his conscience that he had no concern in the matter, and to emphasize his words smote his chest. He struck so violently that the armour under his vestments rattled, and Bishop Douglas remarked that he heard his con-

science 'clattering' (playing on the Scots word 'clatter,' which also means the indiscreet betrayal of a secret). The Douglasses were attacked, but were found to be stronger than had been expected. The affair ended in their complete victory, and consequently Angus was enabled to hold the city by force of arms. As he had slain Sir Patrick Hamilton in the fray, the feud between the two families was intensified, and internal peace for Scotland seemed beyond hope.

Angus being master of the situation, and the recent treaty having lessened Scottish faith in France, Arran and his friends deemed it expedient to bury personal feuds and to effect a temporary reconciliation with the Douglasses, particularly as Henry had allowed it to be understood that his sympathies were with his brother-in-law. The alliance of her supporters with her enemies left Margaret stranded, and a letter from Albany desiring that she would reassume the regency, though pleasing, was of little practical use. She therefore allowed herself to be persuaded by Henry VIII. into another reconciliation with her husband, and on 15 October she set out to visit him in Edinburgh. Angus marched forth with four hundred men to receive his wife, and together they entered the capital in apparent amity. Outwardly restored to his wife's favour, Angus returned to his old customs and also proceeded to appropriate her property.

As appeals to Dacre met with no response, and life with such a husband was too grievous to be borne, Margaret decided to escape. One night she slipped out of Edinburgh accompanied by Sir James Hamilton, Angus's deadly enemy, and a small company and hastened to Arran at Linlithgow, the temporary truce between the Hamiltons and Douglasses having now been broken. Immediately after her arrival she wrote to implore Albany to come back, thinking that together they could bring the country into complete subjugation. At the same time the alliance between England and France came to an end, as even Wolsey could not remain on amicable terms with two such implacable enemies as Charles v. and Francis I., and choice between them being necessary, he characteristically chose the more powerful. Francis, therefore, felt his promise to Henry was dissolved, and promptly gave Albany permission to return

to Scotland if he wished. Consequently the Regent set out accompanied by a regiment of French soldiers, and arrived at Gareloch in Lennox on 19 November, 1521. He hastened to Stirling, where he was cordially, even affectionately, received by the Queen. He rewarded her graciousness by infinite kindness, which extended to the payment of her bills.

One of Albany's first acts was to attain Angus of treason, and that noble hastily retired to the Border, where he resumed his friendship with Lord Dacre. After a long conference they decided that Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, should go to London to persuade Henry to exercise his influence on Angus's behalf and also to paint Margaret's conduct, particularly in regard to her friendship with Albany, in the blackest and most objectionable colours.

In her anxiety to secure Albany's alliance and assistance Margaret had evinced a cordiality that gave the wicked occasion to blaspheme, and, as Angus and his friends knew, an exaggerated account of scandalous rumours would alienate Henry from her, and incite him to assist them in undermining any authority that she and Albany might acquire.

Dacre therefore wrote to Wolsey saying: 'There is marvellous great intelligence between Queen Margaret and the Duke of Albany, as well all the day as much of the night. In a manner they are not who knows it: and if I durst say it—for fear of displeasure of my sovereign—they are over tender; whereof, if your Grace examine the Bishop of Dunkeld of his conscience, I trust he will show the truth.' In case the account of her 'scandalous' conduct with Albany should be ineffectual he cast aspersions on the propriety of her flight from Edinburgh with Sir James Hamilton, and concluded with the familiar refrain that the iniquitous Regent was plotting to destroy the King and usurp the throne, and, with a brilliant flash of inspiration, explained that it was by marriage with Margaret that Albany intended to accomplish his ambition. The fact that they were both wedded already does not seem to have appeared to Dacre a matter of importance.

Henry was furious when he read this letter, and having publicly denounced his sister as the paramour of Albany, avowed that he would have no peace with Scotland till the 'Usurper

was banished. A letter from Margaret imploring him not to believe evil of her or Albany was unavailing. On 1 February, 1522, Clarencieux herald was despatched with letters to the Queen, the Regent, and the Parliament of Scotland. Margaret was told that her love for Albany was reported throughout Christendom to her reproach and that of the noble house from which she sprang, and that although she imagined his presence was advantageous to the King, every one else saw that it would lead to his destruction. Albany was accused of inciting the Queen to divorce her lawful husband, and ordered to leave Scotland immediately. The Parliament was informed of the shortcomings of Margaret and Albany, adjured to dismiss the latter, and reprimanded for trusting their young sovereign to the care of a 'stranger of base reputation.' Margaret was deeply hurt, Albany indignant, and the Parliament exasperated by these letters. The Council replied that they were amazed that the King of England should interfere in the government of a foreign country, and also that he should think fit to utter his suspicions of the Queen, his sister, in so public a manner. Having expressed their satisfaction with Albany, whom they absolutely refused to dismiss, they concluded by saying: 'If for this cause we should happen to be invaded, what may we do but trust that God will espouse our just quarrel, and demean ourselves as our ancestors have done before us, who, in ancient times, were constreyned to fight for the conservation of their realm, and that with good success and honour.'

Thus Henry's plan to check French and advance English influence, by upholding Angus against Margaret and Albany, failed; indeed, by his unwarrantable interference, he had made it a point of honour with the Government to support French interest, and had proved himself an untrustworthy ally. His insulting letter had alienated Margaret; the death of Gavin Douglas and the banishment of Angus to France had weakened the power of the Douglasses, and English influence in Scotland had never been slighter. It seemed probable, therefore, that in the forthcoming war the Scots would have no traitors within their gates. Annoyed at his diplomatic failure, Henry added injury to insult by issuing a sentence of banishment against all Scottish and French subjects resident in England, by ordering

that the former should leave the country on foot with a white cross attached to their upper garments. He also instigated border raids, which the Council recognized as preludes to more serious hostilities. Albany therefore convened Parliament, and sent a declaration of war to Henry, and summoned all men capable of bearing arms to join him for the invasion of England. The army thus mustered is said to have amounted to eighty thousand. There were forty-five brass field pieces and ample provisions and ammunition. But the idea of invasion was as repugnant to the nobles as it had been nine years before: if the English crossed the Border the Scots would be willing to strain every nerve to drive them back, but few were ready to sacrifice themselves in such a perilous adventure as an attack on a superior force in its own territory. Albany failed to understand this, and led his mighty army towards the Border, and encamped at Annan.

Consternation reigned in England when the news of the approach of the Scottish army was circulated. Henry with the majority of the English force was in France, and the troops that remained were insufficient to keep the Scots at bay till auxiliaries could arrive. Moreover it would be dangerous to withdraw soldiers from France. Henry, therefore, again resorted to diplomacy, and sent a message to the Estates, in which he merely insisted that James should be placed in the care of faithful guardians, and omitted to mention at all Albany's dismissal, the real cause of contention. But things had gone too far to be settled by Henry's change of front, and the English militia was called out. A small force was sent to invade Scotland on the eastern border, where it did much damage, but the army of the west was in no way comparable with the force to be resisted, and it was more than probable that Carlisle would fall and the surrounding country be ravaged before Henry could return with an adequate army.

The Scots crossed the Border and marched towards Carlisle, but before they could attack the city Albany consented to receive Lord Dacre with the idea of concluding a truce. For this remarkable turn of affairs Margaret was chiefly responsible. Perhaps the happiness arising from her husband's absence, and an assured income, enhanced the natural kindliness of her

disposition and made her desire peace ; perhaps the idea of war between the subjects of her son and brother revolted her—her motives were too tortuous to be clearly delineated—for some reason known to herself she unexpectedly did everything in her power to achieve peace. She communicated with Dacre, who, untruly, told her he was authorized to make a truce ; regardless of the fact that she did not quite believe him, she persuaded Albany to grant him an interview. Leslie states that she hastened to the Scottish camp in order to be present at the meeting, and that ‘her presence, like an angel of peace, separated the contending hosts’ ; and it is disappointing to find out later that historians regard this beautiful story as an exaggeration if not a fabrication.

Whether Leslie's account is a true one, or Margaret's influence as great as she herself believed, is a matter of secondary importance. The paramount point is that upon her name all the negotiations were based, and the pathetic appeals of a princess of England and Queen of Scotland served as an excellent pretext for the advancement of the desires of the leaders of both sides. The result of it all was that Albany and Dacre signed a truce for a month with the intent that ambassadors should be sent to Henry to arrange a permanent peace.

Having signed the truce, Albany committed the supreme folly of disbanding his army. Buchanan says that as many nobles remembered Flodden and refused to march into England the army practically disbanded itself, but later historians criticize the Regent severely.

In England the news was received with undisguised joy. Wolsey declared that nothing but the hand of God could have prevented the Scottish hosts from attacking Dacre's inadequate army and ravaging the northern countries. Dacre, though perfunctorily blamed for signing a truce without authority, was secretly praised for the able statesmanship that achieved such a happy result. Henry forgave his presumption and confirmed the truce, ostensibly because it had been arranged at the instance of his ‘dearest sister,’ actually because it entirely coincided with his own wishes. Margaret was now to her infinite satisfaction the heroine of the hour : Irene waving

her olive branch and restoring peace to contentious nations. Albany returned to Edinburgh and opened negotiation for the definite peace to which allusion had been made in the recent truce. Henry's withdrawal of his conditions anent the Regent's dismissal had removed the chief obstacle, but, from a sense of loyalty to France, Albany refused to conclude the treaty unless England made peace with that country. As Henry was conducting the French war in conjunction with the Emperor, it was manifestly impossible for him to sheath his sword at the dictation of a foreign government. Peace negotiations therefore came to an end; and as at the termination of the month's armistice hostilities were bound to recommence, Albany's folly in disbanding his army became apparent. He was severely blamed for that and for sacrificing an opportunity for peace to his wish to support French interests. His unpopularity increased rapidly; a revolt of the nobles seemed imminent; and the Queen, who was displeased at his failure to arbitrate with England, showed signs of enmity, which, as she had been the recipient of his political confidence, might accrue to his disadvantage. Disheartened by the futility of his endeavours, and wearied by the recriminations of the Council, he resolved to return to France; and his request for leave having been granted by the Estates, he appointed a Council of Regency, and embarked at the end of October.

Immediately after his departure Surrey and Dacre commenced a series of vigorous Border raids, which proved so disastrous to Scotland that, within a year of his departure, Albany was asked to return. On 24 September, 1523, he landed at Dumbarton accompanied by a French army, also, it is said, by Richard de la Pole, the pretender to the English throne.

The Regent's worst fears with regard to Margaret's treachery were realized. He discovered that she was engaged with Dacre and Surrey in an intrigue to abolish the regency, confer supreme power on the young King, institute herself chief of the Council, and thereby give Henry his long-desired opportunity to rule Scotland through his sister and nephew.

Margaret's reasons for rejoining the English party were quite explicable: the continuance of the war eliminated her glory as 'angel of peace,' and in Albany's absence the Council

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had returned to its old methods of hostility and aggression ; consequently her dislike of Scotland increased, and her wish to return to England became so great that she told William Hetherington, Lord Dacre's agent, that 'she would be glad to come forth of Scotland in her smock.' But Henry did not invite her to London, and even forbade the Warden of the Border to assist her to accomplish her long-cherished plan of escaping to England with her son, and treating with the Scottish nobles from there. Realizing this to some extent, she threw herself enthusiastically into a plan which, if successful, would place her at the head of affairs and put the antagonistic councillors under her authority. She therefore gave Surrey all the information she had concerning Scottish defences in order to forward her scheme, and at the same time made pathetic appeals for money, occasionally, with a singular indiscretion, hinting that the French Government would give much for her influence. Although Henry frequently sent funds he never forgave her threat to transfer her allegiance to France.

As the plot to 'erect' the King developed, it became expedient to imbue him with a desire for power and an impatience of control. Margaret succeeded so well that James, aged eleven, declared in public that 'for no man living would he any longer be kept under restraint, and that the same realm should not contain himself and the Duke of Albany'; and to emphasize his assertion he stabbed in the arm a gentleman who resisted his attempts to escape from authority, and threatened with his dagger a porter who refused to open the Castle gates at his command. Thereupon Margaret wrote to Surrey expatiating upon her son's wisdom and courage, hatred of France and Albany, and love of England and Henry, and above all his desire to throw off all restraint and become a king indeed.

Meanwhile Albany was preparing for war. An army of about fifty thousand men was raised, and the nobles vowed allegiance ; but the Regent appears to have been impervious to the teaching of experience in military matters. Notwithstanding the disinclination to invade England that the Scottish soldiers had shown the previous year, he resolved to cross the Border and conquer the English garrisons. The first fortress to be attacked was Wark Castle ; putting the faithful French mercen-

aries in front, he ordered the army to cross the Tweed. The French crossed and attacked the castle, but, as the Scots refused to follow them, the vanguard was soon driven back by the English, and a severe snowstorm obliged it to return in disorder to the main army. Albany then discovered that Margaret and Dacre had bribed his generals, and many of the nobles had promised to deliver him into the hands of the enemy if he continued to urge hostilities.

As it was impossible to attempt to fight Surrey with three hundred mercenaries and disaffected troops, Albany dismissed the latter and returned to Edinburgh, having with fifty thousand men failed to take a mere baronial castle. He convened the Estates, who immediately ordered the French soldiers to leave the country, and sternly reprimanded the Regent, but notwithstanding their distrust of him, refused his request to be allowed to return to France. He was, however, permitted to do so the following May, on the understanding that if he did not return before 31 August, his regency and also the alliance with France would be considered at an end. He never came back, and his connexion with the affairs of Scotland was entirely severed.

Before leaving he appointed a Council of Regency, and advised the lords to consult Margaret in all things and treat her with proper consideration.

Now that Albany had gone, and England was in a position to assist her, Margaret had felt the opportunity had arrived for the erection of the King. An Observant friar was sent to Henry with a message to the effect that if he would assure his nephew that England would support him he and his followers would soon accomplish his 'erection.' Henry wrote the required letter, and the Queen's party set to work to achieve their great object. The result was that the King left Stirling and entered Edinburgh in triumph, attended by his mother and the nobles who wished to be associated with the affair. He took his place at the head of the assembly in the Council Chamber, with 'sceptre, crown, and sword of honour, and was declared of age. The peers, both temporal and spiritual, then tendered their oaths of allegiance, declared Albany's regency at an end, and promised to maintain the supreme authority of their sovereign against all who might dare to question it.'

CHAPTER IV

Margaret's satisfaction. Harry Stuart. Henry believes Margaret would have him assassinated. Internecine strife. Fight with the Douglasses. Reconciliation. James v. in Angus's power. His dislike of Harry Stuart. Angus governs Scotland. James v. escapes from Angus's power. Angus defeated and banished. James reconciled to Harry Stuart. Plan to marry James and Princess Mary of England. Negotiations fail. Lady Margaret Douglas. James flattered by European power. His *liaison* with Lady Margaret Erskine. Marries Princess Magdalen of France. Her death. Margaret would divorce Harry Stuart and wed John Stuart. James marries Mary of Lorraine. Fails to meet Henry. Margaret's death.

SCOTLAND rejoiced at the erection of the King, the only dissentient voices being those of Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Chancellor, and the Bishop of Aberdeen, who paid for their loyalty to Albany by imprisonment.

The satisfaction with which the news was received by Henry VIII. and Wolsey might have warned the Council that the benefit was illusory. Henry not only expressed his approbation in gracious words but in munificent deeds: he sent two hundred men-at-arms to act as bodyguard to James, and presented Margaret with two hundred pounds and Arran with one hundred; and although he would not agree to definite peace between the two countries he concluded an armistice, and sent ambassadors to congratulate James.

Margaret's cup of joy seemed to be full to overflowing: she had dreamed of absolute power, and now, as guardian of her stripling son, it was hers. It is hardly credible that after her experiences of the result of the unwise gratification of emotion with regard to Angus she should again allow her affection to transcend her good sense, and again destroy her prospects of peace and power. But this is what she did. She allowed her love for a young noble, Harry Stuart, Lord Avondale's son, to

be sufficiently obvious to disgust the Council and alienate the Lords. Arran alone remained with her because he believed the regency of Scotland was his by right of birth, and he wished to be in readiness for any opportunity that might occur. Although both Margaret and Arran were receiving money from Henry VIII. to attach them to the English party, they sent an embassy to France to re-open friendly relations, and the former accepted a gift of thirty thousand crowns from Francis I., who at the same time suggested that his daughter should marry James. The French king's flattery gave Margaret an exaggerated idea of her importance as an ally, and she one day offended the English ambassador by comparing unfavourably the gifts of England and France. Her old acquaintance William Hetherington, who was with Magnus, answered sternly, 'Your grace should not speak so,' and the Queen replied, nothing daunted, 'I said as much or more to Magnus yesterday.' The ambassador denied it and added that, 'if it were not for the love and dread which Scotland bore her brother Henry VIII., she would have been long since put from the rule of her son, King James.' Such an altercation not only showed the indiscretion of Margaret's conversation but proved her incapacity to command respect. The following incident which occurred at about the same time indicates the same defects. She had been ill, and Groselles the French ambassador, who had been given an audience in her bedroom, so far forgot court etiquette as to laugh and talk with the maids-of-honour in attendance. Harry Stuart, who observed the Queen's expression of annoyance, walked up to the ambassador, and offered him the choice of avoiding the Queen's apartment or being thrown downstairs. Groselles retired, and loudly proclaimed the want of courtesy at Scottish receptions, and avowed that he expected to be assassinated by the 'over-officious ruffianly lieutenant of the guards, Harry Stuart.' The incident, though made use of by the English party, militated against the dignity of the throne and the peace of the realm of Scotland.

Meanwhile Angus, who had left France for England some months before, expressed to Henry his desire to return to his consort and his country, and Henry, knowing of Margaret's dalliance with France and Angus's opposition to that country's

influence in Scotland, found it inconsistent with his honour to detain his brother-in-law. Therefore Angus, having promised to support English interests, set out for the Border.

Before he arrived, however, Magnus was instructed to offer to James the hand of Princess Mary, and to present him with a sword and a beautiful coat of cloth of gold. The little King received the presents with gratification, saying, 'Ye see how well my good uncle doth remember me with many things, and yet I was never able to do his grace any pleasure.' Margaret was flattered at the proposed marriage, till she gathered that it was suggested as a bribe to her to reconcile Angus.

Previously she had caused Arran to write to Henry to the effect that if he suffered the Earl of Angus to re-enter Scotland, it would 'not only be hurtable and annoying to the Queen's grace, but would break the peace between the realms of England and Scotland.' She therefore believed that Henry would not allow Angus to return without her consent, and assured Magnus that she could be no more familiar with the Earl considering the displeasure he had done her; but her words were in vain, for before the interview ended a messenger arrived with the news that Angus had crossed the Border.

Angus advanced diplomatically, sending in advance a humble letter expressing his loyalty to his Queen, and requesting an interview with her. Margaret haughtily returned the letter unopened; but tradition asserts that she opened and read it, and carefully sealed it again before she sent it back.

While Margaret was harried by the prospect of her husband's return, the Bishop of Dunkeld aroused Henry's wrath by discovering a plot to assassinate him; as the information came from Scotland, Henry assumed that Margaret knew about it and had failed to warn him. Angry with Henry for allowing Angus to return, and annoyed that he should think her capable of being aware of a plot against him and not revealing it, she sent a brusque message by Appleby the English courier, which called forth an insulting letter from Wolsey. 'Her insolent behaviour,' he wrote, 'blemishing her royal house and blood from which she is descended, causeth the king's highness to think that she is not only the most ingrate and unkind sister that ever was, to whom his Grace, neither in her tender youth or since, hath

given any cause.' To Norfolk, Wolsey wrote, 'that he had never seen the King take any thing more unkindly than Margaret's message, and her delay in opening and disclaiming a matter . . . much to the danger of the King's life and person, so to satisfy her own rancour and malice.'

As a punishment Henry stopped the payment of the two hundred men-at-arms which constituted her chief support in Scotland. This drastic treatment was decidedly unjust, as Margaret did not know anything about the dubious plot, and Henry had already caused her the greatest distress and inconvenience by letting Angus return.

Magnus, who, on account of his failure to negotiate the conjugal reconciliation, was inimical to Margaret, wrote Norfolk that 'finding her entirely perverse, he had given her advice, as a friend, for her weal and for the reformation of her manners, as no queen was ever given before; but she showed little appearance of amendment.'

Thus in less than six months Margaret had offended the Scottish nobles, Henry VIII, Wolsey, and the English ambassadors. She had moreover aggravated both Parliament and people by restricting the government to herself, Arran, and Harry Stuart, who had been made Chancellor. Her only real politic action appears to have been the liberation of Archbishop Beaton and the Bishop of Aberdeen.

Instead of the national unity that the erection of the King had been expected to inaugurate, three distinct parties were struggling for supremacy. That of the Queen and Arran, in whom, as they possessed the person of the King, was vested the authority of the State; that of French interest, lead in Albany's absence by Archbishop Beaton; that of Angus who had sold himself to the English Government, and in a secret treaty with Henry promised to advocate his country's interests. As Margaret's conduct daily enhanced her unpopularity, and Albany was away, the great affection that Scotland had for the house of Douglas seemed likely to give predominance to Angus's party.

Finding that Margaret took no notice of his courteous appeals for reconciliation and rehabilitation, Angus resolved to adopt more forcible measures. On the night of 23 November

he marched to Edinburgh with four hundred men, and entered the city by means of scaling ladders. The consternation of the abruptly awakened populace was immense, and Margaret being unable to reach the Castle did her best to fortify Holyrood, and ordered that the small cannon which guarded the gate should be fired if any of the Douglasses approached the palace. When morning dawned, Angus, Lennox and Buccleuch followed by their four hundred soldiers marched to the Market Cross and proclaimed, by means of their herald, that they were faithful subjects of the King's grace and that their intentions were peaceable; then they proceeded to the Council of Regency, which had assembled in great alarm, and having repeated their pacific assurances Angus declared that the young King was in the control of evil disposed persons who were bent upon the ruin of the nobility, and demanded that the Council should assume the custody of the monarch and the government of the country. Eventually the Estates decreed that no letters nor orders of the King should be obeyed until sanctioned by a council chosen by Parliament; and that four peers should be appointed the King's guardians, each to take charge of him for a quarter of a year in succession.

In the meantime the Queen's party who held the Castle fired upon the town in the hope of expelling the invaders, and amidst the confusion a deputation consisting of Archbishop Beaton and Magnus and the abbot of Cambuskenneth hurried to Holyrood in the hope of reconciling the opposing factions. They found the Queen and her friends breathing vengeance against Angus and mustering a force of five thousand to attack him. Although she received the Scotsmen graciously, she ordered the English ambassador to 'begone to his lodgings and to abstain from interfering in Scotch affairs.' Probably she already guessed that Angus's raid had been inspired by English politics. Although the Queen's party continued the cannonade and several peaceful citizens were slain, Angus behaved with the utmost reticence and discretion, permitting his soldiers neither to kill nor plunder, and when a proclamation was made in the King's name ordering the Douglasses to leave the city he obediently withdrew with his army to Dalkeith.

That night, as soon as the last Douglas had departed, Margaret dismissed all her attendant peers but Harry Stuart and the Earl of Moray, and took James and the household in a torchlight procession to the Castle, where secure behind its battlements she meditated upon revenge. Surmising English cognizance of the recent event, she wrote to remonstrate with Wolsey: 'My Lord, I pray you consider how I am done to, and how daily the Earl of Angus sets to take from me the King, my son; wherefore I marvel what pleasure it may be for the King's Grace, my brother, to hold me in daily trouble. In your hands, God willing, I shall never come to any evil. And should I leave this realm, when any other Princes understand how I am done to, they will have pity on me. I can no more.'

Angus evidently had the perspicacity to guess that Margaret would complain of him to either Henry or Wolsey, and paint his recent actions in the most unpleasant colours; he therefore hastened to display the other side of the shield to his powerful coadjutors. 'Ye are deceived by the Queen, the greatest enemy I have in Scotland,' he wrote to Wolsey, 'therefore, please your Grace, to give no credence whatever you hear report of me.'

Norfolk, also anxious lest Margaret should persuade her brother to take her part, wrote his views upon her conduct to the same minister. 'I think none worthy to bear any blame but only the Queen, who is so blinded with the folly that I have often written to your Grace, that to have her ungodly appetite followed she careth not what she doeth. And yet for all her evil dealing, I greatly doubt not but all shall come well to pass in despite of those who would be to the contrary.'

Now Margaret's appeal was rendered ineffectual by stronger influence, and her enemies drawn more closely together by the bond of disapproval of herself. Beaton was in negotiation with Angus, and the strength of the opposing party was causing Arran to waver in his loyalty to her. She therefore made one more strenuous effort to appease her brother's anger, by sending an embassy to treat for an immediate peace on the basis of the proposed marriage between James V. and Princess Mary; and by instructing the ambassador to France to inform Francis that the regency of Albany had been formally declared at an

end, and to point out the harmful consequences a too loyal attention to that country had brought upon Scottish commerce. Had she thus adopted the popular cause of the English party earlier she might have retained her influence and position, but now Angus and Beaton had alienated the greater part of the people from her, and persuaded them she was not to be trusted, and the nobles who had hitherto been loyal were enraged and disaffected by Harry Stuart's insolence. Henry, too, suspected her sincerity, and preferred to act as the champion of Angus. Realizing that in her impotence against the combined strength of her enemies she would be deprived of all authority, she resolved to sacrifice her personal feelings to her dignity, and rehabilitate her husband, and so retain a considerable portion of power, by graciously giving him a moiety. After a consultation with Magnus she sent, on 12 February, to inform Angus that he and his colleagues might come to Edinburgh and take their place in Parliament, provided they would do nothing to diminish the rights conferred upon her by the last Parliament. Angus agreed to the terms, and hurried to the capital with Lennox and two thousand cavalry. Immediately upon his arrival the Queen sent Magnus to acquaint him of the conditions upon which she would consent to a reconciliation: the first was that he should not assume matrimonial rights over her person or estate (until Whitsuntide); the second, that she should have free access to her son, and preside over the council that selected his guardians; the third, that as chief of the Committee of Nobles she should have a share in the patronage of the highest ecclesiastical benefices, and that those below the value of a thousand pounds a year should be placed at her sole disposal.

Angus assented to her conditions, and on 21 February the reconciliation was effected. The King and Queen came from Edinburgh Castle, preceded by the Earl of Angus carrying the crown and the Earl of Arran the sceptre, and passed through the line of applauding citizens to the Tolbooth, to open Parliament with all pomp and circumstance. During the proceedings Margaret behaved 'with all gracious familiarity with her spouse.' Harry Stuart, probably because he resented this, allowed his devotion to be a little too obvious, and in consequence was ordered by the Lords of the Council to retire to

Stirling Castle with his brother, and remain there at the Queen's, or rather the Lords', pleasure.

While Margaret was openly affiliating herself with Angus and the English party, she secretly wrote to tell Albany that she still considered him 'Regent of Scotland,' to express her devotion to French interest, and to ask him to persuade Francis I. to intercede with the Pope for the acceleration of her divorce proceedings, and also to assure him that she would rather fly from Scotland than consent to a sincere reconciliation with Angus. Unhappily the letter was intercepted and sent to Henry, who, after reading it, wrote Margaret an unvarnished description of his opinion of her conduct. Magnus, who delivered the letter, says: 'After her Grace had looked over or read the first five or six lines of the same, her countenance was altered in such a manner that it was a full hour before her Grace could sober herself from excessive weeping; and long it was, and with much pain, ere that her Grace could read the letter to the end.' When she had finished it she tearfully exclaimed, 'Sure never was such a letter ever written to any noble woman.'

Notwithstanding her grief and wrath, her fear of Henry was so great, and her conviction that her partisans were falling away so deep, that she replied with meekness.

Angus and Beaton, now restored to the Chancellorship, had been negotiating for a three years' peace with England, and it was necessary for Margaret to come to Edinburgh to sign the treaty, but she suspected that the two virtual rulers of Scotland had designs on her life and liberty, and refused to venture in the capital or even to leave Stirling. Possibly Angus saw in this refusal a means of obtaining absolute power, for he lost no time in announcing in Parliament that, 'if she would not come she must be deprived of her authority, which was to be first and principal of the Council, and to have the disposal of all benefices; that she had had all reasonable safe conduct given, and if she would not attend she must forfeit her dignities.' The King, who was present, said he hoped his mother had not so highly offended that she should lose her authority, and asked for leniency; eventually it was decided that the Queen should be given twenty days in which to return to her son, follow the

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advice of the Council, and confirm the peace; if she did not return in the prescribed time Angus's proposals would be put into effect.

A month elapsed, and as Margaret failed to make her appearance in the capital, she was formally deprived of all authority in the State by the Lords of the Council.

On 11 January, 1526, news was brought to Edinburgh that the Queen was marching south with six hundred men under the command of the Earl of Moray. It also transpired that her intention was to meet Arran and his followers at Linlithgow, and then with the combined forces attack Angus and wrest the King from him. Angus having learned all his wife's plans determined to be at the trysting-place himself with James and a large army.

When Margaret's soldiers reached Linlithgow and found Angus and seven thousand men under the royal standard awaiting them they promptly, with Moray at their head, joined the stronger force, and all marched back to Edinburgh together. Margaret, with Arran, who had at length joined her, fled to Hamilton Castle, where she remained nursing her rage at the ridiculous failure of her attempt to crush her tyrannical husband.

Presently Lennox quarrelled with Angus and joined the Queen, but as at the same time Arran deserted her, she gained little advantage from the change; but the partisanship of Beaton later was a considerable asset. An opportunity soon arose which enabled Angus to acquire supreme power. In April James completed his fourteenth year, and in June Angus brought a measure before Parliament, to the effect that in accordance with the law of the land the King's majority should be acknowledged, and all authority placed in his hands. The measure was passed, and James for the second time declared of age, but the earlier bill, which gave the custody of the King's person to peers in rotation, remained in force. As Angus had discreetly brought in the bill during his tenure of guardianship, it was easy for him to refuse to retire at the end of the three months by persuading the King to exercise his royal prerogative, and direct that his stepfather should remain in office. Thus Angus was able, as sole guardian of the King, to rule

Scotland despotically through him. His first act was to give the chief posts to his relatives; then, in order to make his usurpation less obvious, he appointed a Council; but as all the members were devoted to the house of Douglas their restriction upon his absolutism was practically nil.

Not long after this, notwithstanding the vigilant scrutiny of his correspondence, James was able to let his mother know that he was unhappy under Angus's guardianship and longed for freedom. The Queen's party therefore resolved to liberate him. The first essay was made by Walter Scott of Buccleuch, who attacked the royal cavalcade on its way from an expedition to the Border. The attempt failed owing to superiority of numbers, and Buccleuch was forced to retire, and eight of his followers were slain. Several other endeavours were unsuccessful, and at length Lennox himself with an army of ten thousand men advanced towards Edinburgh, declaring that he would rescue his sovereign or die in the attempt. Angus set out to meet him with a larger force, leaving his brother George to follow with the King. The two armies met near Linlithgow, and when James arrived the battle was raging. He knew Lennox had come to liberate him and tried to ride towards him; George observed and frustrated the attempt. 'Bide where you are, sir,' he exclaimed, 'for if they get hold of you, be it by one of your arms, we will seize a leg and pull you in two pieces rather than part with you.' The brutal remark made an indelible impression on the boy's mind, and George Douglas was never forgiven.

Fortune again favoured the strong, Lennox was killed and Harry Stuart and his brother were severely wounded. By this victory Angus's control of the King became more potent than ever.

On returning to Edinburgh Angus convened Parliament, which subserviently pronounced that the Earls of Angus and of Arran and their adherents had taken up arms for the good of the King and the safety of the Commonwealth, and decreed the property of the insurgent lords confiscated to the State. Angus therefore, as representative of the State, seized the plunder and divided it amongst his relations and friends. Beaton, by large gifts, including the Abbey of Kilwinning, and by giving up to

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Angus the Chancellor's seals, made peace with the Queen's enemies, and Arran, overwhelmed with remorse for the death of his uncle Lennox, retired to one of his castles and declined to interfere with politics again.

Margaret, at the earnest desire of the King, was treated with consideration. Angus invited her to Edinburgh, and promised that she would be permitted to converse freely with her son. She accepted the invitation, and on 20 November, 1526, set out for Edinburgh with a small company—most of her friends had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner at the battle of Linlithgow Bridge. James V. and Angus met the Queen at Corstorphine and escorted her to Holyrood, where she was installed in the rooms vacated by Albany.

The King, who was devoted to his mother, spent a great deal of time with her, and showed himself so amenable to her influence that Sir C. Dacre wrote to his brother: 'It is thought that if the Queen remains near her son, that the whole Court will have a turn; for King James, since the death of the Earl of Lennox, has no affection for the Earl of Angus nor him of Arran.' These nobles began to feel anxious about their position, as the Royal power seemed to be passing from them to Margaret, who, had she continued on good terms with her son, might have been given a share in the Regency.

But Henry the Eighth's envoy, Patrick Sinclair, had instilled into James's mind a profound dislike and disapproval of Harry Stuart, and when Margaret requested that he might be received at Court she was met with a refusal. Indignant at what she described as her son's unfilial conduct, she retired to Stirling, and so lost her influential position and her chance of restoration to the chief place in the Council Regency. Later, when amicable relationship with her son was restored, by another indiscretion she alienated his affection and the respect of the Council.

Margaret had been striving to obtain a divorce. Her real reasons were hatred of Angus, engendered by his unpardonable behaviour, and a desire to marry Harry Stuart. But as it was necessary to base her petition upon more substantial grounds than the state of her emotions, she sought other pretexts. The most obvious, the infidelity of her husband, was discarded,

because she was warned that it would afford the respondent an opportunity for retaliation, which he would not neglect; and at length, after much discussion and research, she demanded the annulment of her marriage on the grounds that she had never been legally Angus's wife; because, first, as it was probable that James IV. survived Flodden by several years, she may not have been a widow when the marriage at Kinnoul took place, and, secondly, Angus had been previously contracted to Lady Jane Stuart, and therefore not at liberty to marry. As both her arguments were necessarily weak, and unable to stand the strain of judicial criticism, Margaret proceeded to bribe Angus to withdraw his opposition. At first he was adamant, but succumbed eventually when James promised him unlimited power in the future, and the wardship of the Earl of Huntly immediately, if he would agree to the Queen's proposal. The Pope was therefore petitioned to grant the divorce, but as Margaret's chief advocate with the Papal Court, Francis I., had been defeated at Pavia, and subsequently imprisoned by Charles V., and Henry VIII. was doing his utmost to prevent Clement VII. from pronouncing the decree, the suit was delayed.

Always impatient, Margaret chafed at the long waiting, and early in 1527 persuaded Beaton to pronounce the divorce in accordance with the laws of the Church of Scotland. The first of her causes being thought futile, the second was made the basis of her case, and Angus was summoned to the Consistory Court of St. Andrews to hear his divorce from the Queen pronounced. When the court was assembled, Margaret alleged that Angus 'had been betrothed and given his faith in promise of marriage to a noble lady before he had married her, the Queen, and so by reason of that pre-contract he could not be her lawful husband.' The Earl acknowledged the impeachment, and the Archbishop pronounced sentence of divorce, making a proviso 'that the daughter of the Queen should not suffer loss or disadvantage from the ignorance of her mother of her father's pre-engagement.' The legality of the sentence was doubted, chiefly because there was uncertainty as to whether Angus had been contracted to Lady Jane Stuart or Margaret Hepburn. But before the question was satisfactorily decided the long-expected bull arrived from the Pope. The

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sentence absolving Margaret from her marriage with Angus had been given on 11 March, but owing to the disturbed state of Europe the document did not arrive in Scotland till 8 December.

Margaret did not permit herself the luxury of freedom which might have led to the additional advantage of power, but immediately married Harry Stuart, without consulting either the King or the Council. Her impetuosity in marrying Angus when she was twenty-five was foolish and deplorable, but her precipitancy in wedding Harry Stuart when she was nearly forty was ridiculous in the extreme ; for nearly fifteen years she had been striving for power, and when, freed from her husband and friendly with her son, her ambition appeared on the point of realization, she flung it aside for the third time in her life, for the gratification of an uncontrolled infatuation.

In March 1528 she announced her third marriage. James, indignant at having another stepfather thrust upon him, reprimanded his mother severely, and refused to receive Harry Stuart. Angus found in his wife's remarriage a pretext to annex her lands, and popular feeling was antagonistic to the Queen and her young husband. In fear and trembling they fled to Edinburgh and took refuge in the Castle. Angus then, with the King in his charge, summoned the legions to muster to the Royal standard and besieged the fortress. When she realized her impotence Margaret left the Castle, and falling on her knees before her son presented the keys, and implored pardon for herself and her husband. It was granted to her, but Harry Stuart was ordered to temporary imprisonment. While her husband and his brother were ordered away to prison, Margaret was treated with superficial courtesy, and obliged to ride down to the city with James and Angus. She soon realized that the latter was designing plots against her liberty and property, and retired again to Stirling ; hearing from Beaton that even there she was not safe, she dismissed her household, and having disguised herself, fled to the mountains. Unfortunately, her history during the time she 'gaed vagrant' is a blank. Beaton, who escaped at the same time, was discovered tending sheep in Boigremoir 'with ane shepherd's clothes upon him.' Whether Margaret assisted him in these pastoral avocations is unknown, in

spite of the strenuous efforts of James to discover her whereabouts.

She must have been perfectly cognizant of the course of events, for when Harry Stuart was liberated and the King's approaching manhood foreshadowed the end of the Douglas régime, Margaret's friends began to desert their hiding-places, and by May 1528 they had regarrisoned Stirling Castle and prepared it to receive the Queen.

For more than two years Angus had governed Scotland, with complete despotism. On the deposition of the Queen from the Regency in April 1526, he had constituted himself sole guardian of the King, and through him absolute ruler of the country. During that time, says Tytler, 'the ancient tyranny of the house of Douglas once more shot up into a strength which rivalled or rather usurped the Royal power; the Border became the scene of tumult and confusion, and the insolence of the numerous vassals of this great family was intolerable. Murders, spoliations, and crimes of varied enormity were committed with impunity. The arm of the law, paralysed by the power of an unprincipled faction, did not dare to arrest the guilty; the source of justice was corrupted; ecclesiastical dignities of high and sacred character became the prey of daring individuals, or were openly sold to the highest bidders'; not only were the Borders in a state of tumult, but the Highlands were the scene of deadly strife between discordant clans. But strong in the alliance with England Angus's government rose superior to the discontent of the people and the controversies of the nobles.

Early in 1528 the execution of Scotland's proto-martyr in the cause of the Reformation increased the unpopularity of the ruling powers with a large section of the community. Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil and Catherine Stuart Albany's daughter, had been instructed in the new religion of Luther and Melancthon. He became a zealous convert, and on returning to Scotland from Germany in 1527, had enthusiastically promulgated his convictions; and his youth, brilliancy, and fervour soon won converts. After about a year he was arrested for heresy, tried, condemned and burnt before St. Andrews College, on 29 February. Notwithstanding the brevity of his career, many of the

lesser clergy followed his teaching, and he may be said to have laid the foundation of the work that was to be completed by Knox and his coadjutors twenty years later.

Out of the general discontent arose a faction who desired the departure of Angus, the restoration of Margaret, and a return to the alliance with France. As Henry's opposition would have been fatal to her scheme, the French ambassador was instructed to sound him on the subject and ascertain whether he would at least refrain from assisting Angus. The 'conspirators' hopes were dashed to the ground when they heard that Henry had said that he not only refused to help his sister, but that if she were restored to the Regency he would do his best to displace her, and hoped France would render neither aid nor countenance to her; he concluded by saying that her folly and ill-government were a disgrace to himself and all his race, and that her conduct could not be more shameful. The project in consequence fell through, and the only hope for Scottish liberty lay in the freedom and supremacy of the King.

James was now sixteen, and circumstances had developed his character prematurely: capacity and vigour were his salient qualities, and the restraint of his practical imprisonment exasperated him. The attempts of his friends had failed through weakness and lack of unity, and his letter telling King Henry VIII. that 'contrary to his will and mynde he was kept in thraldom and captivitie,' had met with no response, so he resolved to arrange for his escape himself. First he persuaded his mother to exchange Stirling Castle for the demesne of Methven and a peerage for Harry Stuart; then he prevailed upon Angus to remove him to Falkland Palace in order that he might have some hunting. When there he communicated with Archbishop Beaton, whom he knew he could trust, and asked for a little assistance.

His plans laid, James quietly awaited an opportunity to put them into effect. It came on 22 May, 1528. Angus, feeling perfectly secure, left the King in charge of his brother, George Douglas, and set out on a journey to Lothian. At the same time Beaton, in accordance with a previous arrangement with James, sent for George Douglas on some important business concerning their mutual estate. Left to his own devices, James swiftly

made his arrangements. He summoned the chief forester, Balfour of Ferney, and gave orders for a hunting party for seven o'clock next morning. He went into details, insisting that all gentlemen who had 'speedie dogs' should be commanded, as he 'was determined to slay ane dae or two for his pleasure.' Then as *déjeuner* was to be at four o'clock, he told the deputy-captain of the guard, James Douglas of Parkhead, to 'gang the sooner to his bed that he might rise the sooner in the morning.'

When all was quiet the King, disguised as a yeoman of the guard, slipped silently out of the palace and made his way to the stable, where he was met by two faithful grooms whom he had told to have horses ready. Five minutes later they were riding towards Stirling for their lives.

At daybreak the King reached the Castle, where he was received with a tumult of joy. The governor, having tended his homage and expressed his thankfulness that his sovereign was free, 'laid him in his bed because he had ridden all night.'

A few hours afterwards the King woke, happy in his emancipation, and for the first time in his life summoned a council of friendly faces. 'He laid his case before them,' says Lindsay of Pitseottie, 'with great lamentations, showing them how he was holden in subjection, three years bygone, by the Earl of Angus and his kin and friends, who oppressed the whole country and spoiled it, under the pretence of justice and his authority, and slain many of his lieges, kinsmen, and friends because they would have had it mended at their hands and put him at liberty as he ought to have been, at the council of his whole lords, and not have been subjected and corrected with no particular men by the rest of the nobles. "Therefore," said he, "I desire my lords, that I may be satisfied for the said Earl, his kin, and friends; for I avow, that Scotland shall not hold us both till I be revenged on him and his."'

The lords hearing the King's complaint and lamentation, also the great rage, fury, and malice that he bore towards the Earl of Angus, his kin and friends, they concluded all, and thought it best that he should be summoned to underly the law; if he feared not caution nor yet compear himself, that he should be put to the horn, with all his kin and friends, so many as were contained in the letters. And further, the lords

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ordained, by advice of his majesty, that his brother and friends should be summoned to find caution to underly the law within a certain day, or else to be put to the horn. But the Earl appeared not, nor none for him ; and so he was put to the horn, with all his kin and friends ; so many as were contained in the summons, that compeared not, were banished, and holden traitors to the King.'

Lindsay of Pitscottie also gives a detailed account of the return of George Douglas to Falkland and his consternation when he discovered the flight of the King, of Angus's hurried return and advance towards Stirling, the meeting of the herald who read the proclamation of banishment, the realization of the magnitude of the disaster and the ignominious retreat to Linlithgow.

The boy King who was now to rule Scotland on his own initiative was brave and manly, possessed of good natural talents, of which self-control and love of justice were paramount. Although the Douglasses had neglected his education and encouraged his natural propensities for pleasure, he resolved to devote all his energies to governing his country equitably and understanding the needs of his people. In order not to be deceived by the representations of politicians and courtiers, he mingled freely with all classes of his subjects and was always ready to grant audiences to those who desired him. By these means he won for himself an appellation of which he was extremely proud, 'the King of the Commons.'

Immediately after his assumption of the government, James found himself opposed by two powerful forces, the Douglasses and Henry VIII. The former wished to regain the power that they had lost by the fall of Angus, and the latter, feeling that the moment had arrived when he might enforce his suzerainty over Scotland, redoubled his efforts to bribe the nobles and to incite private feuds, which inevitably weakened the Government. Each having the same end in view, James's two enemies soon joined issues.

The King was deeply hurt at his uncle's hostile attitude ; and the friendly feelings with which he had previously regarded him changed to those of indignation and suspicion, and vengeance was the summit of his hopes. As far as the Douglasses were

concerned he obtained it, for in September Parliament passed an act of attainder upon Angus and his kin and friends. The only way of dealing retributive justice to Henry was by means of a successful war; and James had the sense to see that a war would be probably disastrous, and the wisdom to refrain from leading his country into danger in order to gratify personal resentment. He therefore made a holocaust of his pride and resentment, and sent ambassadors to England to inform Henry of the change of affairs.

Angus did not meekly submit to the bill of attainder, but retired to Tantallon, fortified it, and prepared to resist the result of the royal wrath. James's attacks on the redoubtable fortress were failures, and on one occasion his artillery was captured by Angus in person. This so enraged the King that he declared with an oath that so long as he lived no Douglas should find resting-place in Scotland.

At length the royal arms were victorious and the Douglasses driven from Tantallon. Angus fled to England, where he remained until after the death of James.

Notwithstanding Henry the Eighth's petition for Angus's restoration, James refused to do more than remit the death sentence, and further changes in European politics rendered Henry unwilling to supplement his request by force of arms. So the negotiations between the two countries progressed smoothly and on 14 December a pacification for five years was ratified. Margaret, who had used her influence in the cause of peace, hastened to assure Henry of her love and gratitude, and to express her fervent hope that James would marry Princess Mary, and to promise that other matrimonial proposals being made, her 'dearest brother' should be informed of them.

When freed from the influence of the Douglasses, James fulfilled his promise to his mother, and created Harry Stuart Baron Methven, and presented her with the estates appertaining to the barony which had formerly belonged to the Crown. Although the Queen lived chiefly at Methven and seldom visited the Court, she and her husband influenced the King immensely throughout the next two years. •

During that period Margaret became the mother of a son and

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daughter, and James took his old tutor, Sir David Lindsay, again into his complete confidence, and made him Lyon King at Arms.

In 1531 Lord William Howard, Henry's ambassador, arrived with instruction to arrange the marriage of James v. with Princess Mary; but as the pending divorce of her mother when concluded would deprive her of the position of Princess of England and even of her legitimacy, Margaret and the nobles considered her an unfitting bride for the King of Scotland. Although the embassy failed, the ambassador received the most gracious treatment. All sorts of sports were provided, and English and Scots contended for athletic glory. Finally, Margaret wagered the King two hundred crowns that six of the English militia would shoot better with the English bow than any six Scotsmen chosen from the whole country. James accepted the wager and the contest was arranged with due ceremony: the King, the Queen, the bishops, and the nobles together with the populace watched the match. And great was the national joy when the Scots were victorious.

In 1534 Henry VIII. was recognizing that his divorce of Queen Katharine and various other arbitrary acts were lessening his popularity with his people; the antagonism of the great powers also made him anxious to conciliate those which remained neutral. James had received the Order of the Golden Fleece from the Emperor, and that of St. Michael from Francis I., and Henry, not wishing to be outdone in courtesy, sent Lord William Howard with the Garter. Also he sent gracious messages to Margaret; his annoyance occasioned first by her double dealing had been augmented by her treatment of Angus, and her discouragement of the proposal of marriage between James and Mary; but now diplomacy transcended personal feeling, and as his sister might be of use in negotiations with Scotland he sent her an affectionate message. Margaret was delighted and impetuously seized the opportunity for reconciliation. A long letter for her dearest brother concluded with the following rhodomontade: 'Please your grace, howbeit in time by past some misadvised person have made unkindly report of us unto you, without cause of offence in us, we here and always sal indurced and continued your most loving syster, intending no less all time of our life, having sic confidence in you that

ye will hold us in the same. Your Grace is our only brother, and Ows your only sister; and since so is, let no divorce or contraire have peace, nor no report of ill advict alter our conceits, but brotherly and systerly love ever to endure, to the pleasure of God and the weal of us both. And trust no less in than in yourself in all and sundrie things at our whole power and as pleaseth your Grace to command. Beseeching the eternal God to consarve you in everlasting grace. Written with our own hand at Edinburgh the 12th day of December instant, by your Grace awn and only Most loving and hummyll Syster,

MARGARET R'

Having successfully effected a reconciliation with Margaret, Henry disclosed to her his wish to meet James. All vicarious efforts to make James marry Princess Mary or champion the cause of the Reformation had failed, and Henry believed that his personal magnetism would influence his nephew to accede to his wishes. Margaret was delighted with the idea and enthusiastic in her endeavours for its consummation, 'She imagined that the meeting would rival in its splendour the field of the cloth of gold.' 'There could,' she wrote, 'be no more pleasant sight in this earth, of worldly things, as me to see our most dearest brother and our most dearest son, in proper personages together and of one loving mind.'

In December 1535 envoys were sent to Edinburgh to make arrangements, but when they arrived James, who had been taken ill on a northern progress, was unable to come to the capital to receive them. He therefore sent to ask his mother to tell Lord Methven to escort them to him. This was done; but as it was contrary to Margaret's nature to sit quietly at home while history was being made, she resolved to attend the conference regardless of difficulties. So, though it was as she wrote to Cromwell, 'the most troublesome weather that we ever travelled into, we came over to our own dearest son whom withall we commend and reasoned, so that, by advice of us, and no other living person, determined and conducted that meeting.' James, by his mother's advice and in spite of the opposition of the clergy, agreed to meet his uncle when and where he should choose. Margaret, recognizing the necessity of precipitancy, wrote to Henry for an early appointment.

In the following spring, Lord William Howard and Dr. Barlow came with a message that Henry would gladly meet James at York at midsummer; they were also instructed to re-offer Princess Mary's hand and do their utmost to persuade James to advocate the Reformation. The embassy failed, chiefly on account of the tactlessness of Dr. Barlow, who openly referred to James's advisers as 'the Pope's pestilent creatures and very limbs of the devil.' The Scottish clergy naturally retaliated by expressing their opinion of a union of the King with the daughter of a heretic monarch. James refused both the daughter and the religious opinions of his uncle, and suggested that the interview should be postponed to Michaelmas, and that Newcastle and not York should be the trysting-place.

Margaret had added her quota to the failure of her cherished scheme, not from malice, but from avarice. Having done so much to bring about the meeting that Henry desired, she pointed out to him that she deserved a reward; but knowing her brother's character she contrived to add a little more to his indebtedness to her by eliciting from James the private instructions he had given to his ambassadors at the Court of St. James's and telling them to Henry. James discovered his mother's treachery, and in the stormy interview that ensued withdrew his promise to meet his uncle, saying: 'If your brother means by your aid to betray me I had liefer it were done while I am in my own country than in England.'

Having offended one of her children, Margaret risked a quarrel with Henry in defence of the other. During Anne Boleyn's brief reign her uncle, Lord Thomas Howard, had become engaged to Margaret Douglas. After the Queen's execution Henry ordered the engagement to be broken off, and as neither Lord Thomas nor Lady Margaret would obey his mandate they were sent to the Tower. In August 1536, Margaret heard of this and wrote to remonstrate with her brother for his unkind treatment of her daughter. Henry did not reply, but the letter must have impressed him as Lady Margaret was removed from the Tower to a less rigid imprisonment at Syon Abbey, and eventually restored to her position at Court.*

Margaret, unhappy in the loss of her son's affection and the

impotence of her condition, wrote to ask Henry if she might visit England; and as the embassy was returning persuaded Barlow to remain behind in order that he might accompany her to London when the invitation arrived. Weeks passed and no reply came from Henry. Margaret as usual believed that what she desired would come to pass, but in this case her optimism was not justified, as when at length the Scottish ambassador returned from St. James's, he brought a message from Henry to the effect that it would not be etiquette for her to visit England without the consent of her son. She was almost as much hurt by the method of refusal as by the refusal itself, and wrote to tell Henry of her chagrin that a Scotsman should be told she was unwelcome when she had expressed a wish to visit her only brother.

Monetary difficulties soon eliminated pride; and before long she wrote again for supplies. She explained that she was at an 'extreme point of dishonour and great trouble and promised never again to be so cumbersome.' Henry was obdurate, and Margaret was obliged by force of adverse circumstances to seek a reconciliation with her son.

Europe was now in the throes of the Reformation, and nation was rising against nation to champion the Catholic Church or vindicate the reformed religion. The part likely to be taken by such a warlike country as Scotland was of great importance, and in consequence James was greatly flattered and courted. A special legation brought the Pope's blessing and a 'cap and sword consecrated on the night of the Nativity of our Saviour, which the fame of his valour and many Christian virtues had moved his master to remunerate him with—so that it might bring a terror to the heart of a wicked neighbouring prince, against whom the sword was sharpened.' The Emperor offered the hand of either his sister the widowed Queen of Hungary or his niece Princess Mary of Portugal, and instructed his ambassador to hint that if James allied himself with the Catholic cause he might shortly be able to write himself Prince of England and Duke of York. Frances I. suggested Princess Marie de Bourbon, the daughter of the Duke of Vendôme, as a suitable queen-consort of Scotland, and Henry again made overtures on behalf of his elder daughter.

Alliances with distant countries like Hungary and Portugal were not thought advisable by the Scottish Government, and Princess Mary of England was quite out of the question owing to her mother's divorce, and the prospect of civil war in England between Henry's successors and Mary's husband should the latter try to claim the throne. Therefore by process of elimination Princess Marie de Bourbon was chosen to be James's bride. But James had other plans. Several years before he had fallen in love with Lady Margaret Erskine, who was the mother of his illegitimate son James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Moray and Regent of Scotland. Notwithstanding her romance with James, Lady Margaret had married Sir Robert Douglas of Loch Leven. James now proposed to divorce her from her husband and make her Queen of Scotland. Such a marriage would have been disastrous to Scotland, and the Queen and the nobles did their utmost to prevent it; but it was not until the terrible results of his uncle's illicit love for Anne Boleyn were revealed to him that James allowed the counsel of his advisers to prevail.

He abandoned his scheme to marry Lady Margaret, but refused to accept a bride chosen by others.

He therefore resolved to go to France *incognito* and form his own opinion of Princess Marie, before further steps were taken in the matrimonial arrangements.

On 1 September he set out for that country with some faithful followers: he was cordially welcomed at Dieppe as a Scottish noble in search of adventure, and from there went straight to Vendôme to see 'the gentilwoman who should have been his spouse, thinking to spy her pulchritude and behaviour unkenne'd by her.' Princess Marie, however, recognized him from a portrait, and 'taking him by the hand heartilie said, Sir, ye stand over from aside; therefore, if it please your Grace, you may show yourself to my father or me, and confer and pass the time ane while.' The heartiness must have outweighed the pulchritude, for James, after having enjoyed the Duke's lavish hospitality, 'thought it expedient to speak nothing of marriage at that time, till he had spoken with the King of France.'

Francis, who was at a hunting lodge, received James warmly, and invited him to return to Paris with him. When they

reached the capital James saw Princess Magdalen, a beautiful fragile maiden, already a prey to consumption, and fell in love with her at first sight. The Princess reciprocated his emotion, and proposals of marriage were made. Francis objected on account of his daughter's ill-health, but James, who was very much in love and obstinate, over-ruled all objections, and the marriage was celebrated at Notre Dame early in 1537.

The King and Queen of Scotland landed at Leith on 19 May, and 'when the Queen was come upon Scot's earth, she bowed down to the same and kissed the mould thereof, and thanked God that her husband and she were come safe through the seas.' The people were enchanted with the beautiful Princess, and the Queen-Dowager received her affectionately. In the joy of meeting all quarrels between James and his mother were forgotten, and all Scotland rejoiced in her new Queen. But within a month the 'triumph and merriness were all turned into dirges and soul-masses, which were very lamentable to behold,' for the Queen had entered into another kingdom.

Neither great joy nor overwhelming grief could keep Margaret's vagaries in the background. While James was mourning for his beautiful wife he was troubled with his mother's matrimonial infelicities. Margaret had discovered that Lord Methven had annexed some of her property, and, which was far worse, had been unfaithful to her, and that the cause of his infidelity was the Earl of Athol's daughter, Lady Janet Stuart. The fact that the *liaison* was a matter of years, as proved by the presence of a family, added to the poignancy of the Queen's distress, and she resolved to attempt a second divorce. She also had allowed her affections to break through the matrimonial boundary, the object of her infatuation being one John Stuart, of the family of the Darnley Stuarts, who for several generations had lived in France. She was too wise to base her petition for divorce upon any grounds but her husband's infidelity and rapacity. Henry, on receiving her complaints, appeared sympathetic: he had always disliked the Methven marriage, and any disturbance in Scotland gave him a pretext for interfering in that country's politics. He sent Sadler to Margaret with letters concerning her affairs: but the real object of the visit was to sound her as to the probable policy of

the Scottish Government. Again Margaret's loyalty to her son failed, and she told Sadler in a private interview that nothing should be done without Henry's knowledge ; she also petitioned that war should not be declared until the divorce was accomplished, as otherwise the Lords of Scotland would let her husband have her dowry. As both Henry and Cromwell favoured her divorce petition, it progressed admirably. In June Margaret wrote to the former : ' Pleaseth your Grace to know, that my divorce and petition is at the giving of sentence, and proved by many famous folk, to the number of twenty-four provers. An' by the grace of God, I shall never have such a trouble again, and your Grace may be sure I shall never do nothing but by your Grace's counsel and commandment ; for I may do your Grace both honour and pleasure better now as I am. Beseeching your Grace, if I have need, that I lack not your help and supply, which I trust I shall not fail to have, if I be wronged in anything I have a right to.' But Margaret had burnt her incense before the wrong altar : James, not Henry, was the ruling power in the case, and without his assent the asseverations of the twenty-four provers were valueless. Methven was wiser than his wife, and appealed to the proper authority, and James was given to understand that he would receive vast sums from his, Methven's, lands if the divorce were not granted ; it was further hinted that if freed from Methven Margaret would re-marry Angus and restore him to power. Margaret, too late, tried to bribe her son, but perhaps the weightiest reason for vetoing the divorce was his consciousness of the scandal and ridicule that would be aroused by the second divorce and re-marriage of a woman fifty years old. Margaret was furious when she learned that his decision was irrevocable, and she hastened southwards in order to ally herself with Henry against her unfilial son. James pursued her and brought her back to Dundee, where, unable to give vent to her feelings in any other way, she wrote a vehement letter to Henry, depicting her grief and her son's heinous conduct.

The birth of Prince Edward of England in October 1537 deprived James of any hopes of ascending the English throne, and, unwilling that an English prince should be heir to Scotland, he decided to re-marry, and sent an embassy to France to

choose a bride: this time personal preference was to be subservient to political expediency. Mary of Lorraine, daughter of the Earl of Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville, was chosen by the ambassadors. This brilliant Princess, destined to play so momentous a part in the history of Scotland, accepted the proposal, and was married to James at St. Andrews in June 1558. The marriage gave Margaret another opportunity to try and reinstate herself in the affections of her son and her brother, and at the same time reimburse her exchequer. She made friends with the new Queen, and allowed her to persuade her to relinquish her scheme for divorce, and rejoin her erring husband. This act of wisdom naturally restored her to James's favour. To Henry she wrote an affectionate letter, describing Mary of Lorraine, and asking for money wherewith to purchase gorgeous apparel, that would cause a Princess of England to compare favourably with a Princess of France. Unhappily Henry did not think England's honour would be affected seriously by the habiliments of the Princess Royal, so sent nothing.

At about the same time Lady Glamis, Angus's sister, was charged with having 'conspired and imagined the destruction of the most noble person of our most serene lord the king by poison.' Of course, she was found guilty, and in the words of Godscroft, the historian of the Douglasses, 'She was burned upon the Castle hill, with great commiseration from the people, in regard of her noble blood, of her husband, being in the prime of her years, of a singular beauty, and suffering all, though a woman, with a manlike courage—all men conceiving that it was not her fault, but the hatred the King carried to her brother that brought her to this end.' The Master of Forbes and James Hamilton, the Bastard of Arran, were also executed for treason.

Archbishop Beaton died in 1539, and was succeeded by his nephew, the celebrated Cardinal Beaton, and religious persecution increased; many of the clergy who held the reformed faith fled to England, but most of the leaders were martyred. On 22 May a prince was born, and within a year a second heir to the throne appeared. In the autumn of 1541 both died, and poison was suspected.

The letter in which Margaret told Henry of the death of the princes shows that she was in the habit of acquainting Henry with Scottish affairs even while she was apparently an affectionate and faithful subject of her son. There is very little doubt that her constant treachery and disloyalty to each king in alternation was the primary cause of the war of 1542. Henry had again wished to meet his nephew, and it was arranged that the interview should take place at York, whither the English Court travelled in great state. But James, remembering the conspiracies of his mother and uncle against him, doubted the latter's good faith, and failed to keep his engagement. Henry's wrath was unspeakable, and could only be appeased by a war of conquest and extirpation. English armies were sent to Scotland, and the campaign began which ended in the disaster of Solway Moss and the death of the heart-broken King of Scotland.

In November 1541 Margaret was seized with an attack of palsy at Methven Palace. Although at first the illness was not thought dangerous, James was sent for. Before he arrived she became rapidly worse, and, having no time to make a will, instructed her confessors to implore the King to be good to her daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, and give her any property that was left. Her conduct to Angus seems to have troubled her conscience at the end, for she told her confessor to 'sit on their knees before the king, her son, and beseech that he would be good and gracious to Lord Angus,' and later lamented exceedingly and 'asked God's mercy that she had offended the said Earl as she had.'

She died on 20 November, before her son could come to her, and was buried with unusual magnificence at the Abbey Church of St. John at Perth. James attended in person as chief mourner.

Thus Margaret Tudor's life of anxiety and trouble ended; fortune had many times been within her reach, but by endeavouring to grasp too much she had brought upon herself and upon those whom she loved calamities irremediable even by the great healer, Time.



PRINCESS MARY TUDOR AND CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.
1552. THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON. (BY PERMISSION)

PART II

MARY TUDOR, QUEEN OF FRANCE AND DUCHESS
OF SUFFOLK, THIRD DAUGHTER OF HENRY VII

1496-1533

CHAPTER V

State of Europe at Mary's birth. Her birth. Suggested marriage with Charles V. War with France. Henry entertains the Emperor. Charles Brandon. Charles V. withdraws from the marriage. Mary marries Louis XII. of France. The wedding.

SHORTLY before Mary Tudor was born the condition of Europe had been changed by the discovery of America by Columbus, and the Cape route to India by Vasco da Gama. The wealth of America and India being within reach of enterprising merchants altered the whole scheme of European commerce and ruined the trade of the Mediterranean ports. The astronomical revelations of Copernicus had revolutionized science, and the Renaissance together with the disquisitions of scholars and early reformers had entirely changed the trend of men's thoughts.

At the time of the Princess's birth the old order was changing, and in her first eighteen years she played a decided, if involuntary, part in the establishment of the new. During her short life two of the most momentous events in the history of England occurred: the acquisition of the New Learning and the overthrow of Papal Supremacy. But, although she only spent six months of her life out of England, she was associated more with foreign politics than those of her native land.

In the last decade of the fifteenth century the Empire was weak. The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella

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of Castille had united Spain into one great nation ; and the statesmanship of Louis XI., followed by the military achievements of Charles VIII., had rendered France more powerful than she had been before. While England, free at last from internecine strife, and with Henry the Seventh's carefully accumulated wealth in the Treasury, was a power with which alliance was desirable.

Henry VII. chose Spain for his ally against France, England's hereditary enemy, and clenched the alliance by marrying his eldest son Arthur to Katharine of Aragon, the youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella ; their eldest, Joanna, had already married the Emperor's son, Archduke Philip. Henry surmised, therefore, that a league with Spain would entail an *entente* with the Empire. Soon afterwards he proposed that his eldest daughter should marry the King of Scotland, and so bind England, Scotland, Spain and the Empire in a strong union which, by being too powerful to be attacked, would ensure peace. Henry VII. had no ambition to waste his substance in wars of doubtful issue. In perfect accordance with this policy, shortly after the birth of Philip and Joanna's son, Charles of Castille, in 1500, Henry commenced negotiations for his betrothal to Princess Mary. As Charles was heir to most of Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands, such a union would bind England closely to the rising power in Europe.

The Princess was born at Richmond in March 1496, and was educated with the care that was bestowed on all the Tudor children. From babyhood she was extremely pretty and attractive. Erasmus noticed her when he visited Henry the Seventh's children in 1500, and Sir Thomas More waxed eloquent over ' Mary bright of hue ' when she was seven years old. Prince Henry was fond of her and liked to have her near him, and Katharine of Aragon, the widowed Princess of Wales, acted almost the part of a mother after the death of Elizabeth of York. It was under her sister-in-law's ægis that Mary made her first appearance at Court ; the occasion being the visit of Archduke Philip, titular king, and his wife the regnant Queen, of Castille, who came in 1500 to discuss her marriage with their son.

The arrival of the foreign Royalties is chronicled by the indefatigable Hall: 'And when the King heard that the King of Castille was coming he went to the door of the great chamber and there received him, and desired him to take him by the arm, or else the King of Castille would not have taken so much upon him, but by the King's desire; so both together went through that chamber, the King's dining-chamber, and from thence to the inner chamber, where was my lady princess, and my Lady Mary, the King's daughter, and divers other ladies. And after the King of Castille had kissed them, and communed with them, and communed awhile with the King and the ladies all, they came into the King's dining-chamber, where danced my lady princess, and a Spanish lady with her Spanish array; and after she had danced two or three dances she left: and then danced my Lady Mary and an English lady with her; and ever and anon, the lady princess desired the King of Castille to dance, which after he had excused him once or twice, answered that he "was a mariner, and yet," he said, "you would cause me to dance"; so he danced not, but communed still with the King. And after that my Lady Mary had danced two or three more dances, she went and sat by my lady princess on the carpet, which was under the cloth of estate, and near where the King and the King of Castille stood. And then danced one of the strange lords and a lady of England. That done, my Lady Mary played on the lute, and after upon the clavicords, who played so very well that she was of all folkes there greatly praised, that in her youth in everything she behaved herself so very well.' Either Mary's charm or Henry's diplomacy must have been seductive, for on 9 February Philip signed the treaty and sanctioned the marriage, although he had recently contemplated breaking his treaty with England and uniting himself to France by marrying his son to Princess Claude; a policy advocated by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon. The Emperor Maximilian and his daughter Archduchess Margaret, widow of the Duke of Savoy, were strongly in favour of the English alliance. Arrangements were made for Henry and the Archduchess Margaret to meet at Calais to consider the terms of the marriage, but ill-health prevented the former keeping his engagement. In September Philip died, and grief

caused Joanna to become insane. As she had heard a legend of a king who died, and after a lapse of fourteen years was restored to life, she insisted on carrying Philip's coffin about with her in anticipation of the happy day of his resurrection. When her hopes were disappointed the insanity became incurable, and she was put under restraint. Joanna survived her husband fifty years.

Charles was put under the guardianship of his two grandfathers, Maximilian and Ferdinand, who placed him in the care of his aunt Margaret of Savoy. The negotiations for the marriage progressed as before, and Henry conceived the idea of strengthening the alliance by a double wedding, and offered his elderly hand to the beautiful Archduchess, who refused it, but at the same time remained faithful to the English alliance. In her girlhood she had been atrociously treated by Charles VIII., and nothing could alienate her from an enemy of France. She did her best to hasten the marriage of the Prince of Castille and Princess Mary, and Imperial Commissioners were appointed to meet English ones at Calais in December. On the twenty-first of that month a treaty was signed by which it was agreed that Charles's deputy should go to London the following Easter and betroth Princess Mary by proxy; and further, that within forty days of the Princess's attaining the age of fourteen a fresh commission should complete the marriage; also that the actual wedding should be solemnized within eight days of the arrival of the Princess in Flanders. On the English side it was promised that within three months of this proxy marriage the Princess should be conveyed to Helvoetsluys, and that twenty-five thousand gold crowns should be her marriage portion. If either side broke the contract a fine of twenty-five thousand crowns should be paid. This treaty was ratified by the Emperor in February 1508, and in the following July his ambassadors came to London. Their negotiations with Henry were satisfactory; and in December the Sieur de Bergues, who was to act as Charles's proxy, and several other nobles came to England to complete the *fiançailles*. English lords, both spiritual and temporal, met them at Dover and escorted them to London where the people received them with enthusiasm, believing that the marriage would be good for English trade with Flanders.

The envoys rested for two days, and then, on 7 December, they were summoned to Greenwich, where they were magnificently entertained by the King and the Prince of Wales. The treaty was examined and found satisfactory, and on 16 December the whole party set out for Richmond for the 'Espousals.'

At sunrise on 17 December, King Henry, followed by the Imperial delegates, proceeded to Princess Mary's room, where the English nobles were assembled. When the King had mounted the throne the Princess entered, followed by the Princess of Wales and a goodly number of fair ladies. 'The brilliancy of her beauty, her modesty and gravity, and the princely gestures with which she comported herself,' were admired by all beholders. She was led to an elevated dais under a canopy, and the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced a long oration extolling the Prince, the Princess, and the marriage; when he finished the President of Flanders made a similar speech; that ended, the Sieur de Bergues approached the Princess, told her of the profound affection Charles had for her, took her hand and recited her betrothal oath. She replied in set terms that by him she took Prince Charles of Spain, Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy, for her husband and spouse, and promised that during her natural life she would have, hold, and repute him as her husband. When she had thus spoken the deputy bridegroom kissed her and put a wedding ring on her finger as a pledge of the union. For the next six years Mary was styled the Princess of Castille.

She received many presents from her future relations by marriage, but the most interesting was from Charles himself: a jewel composed of diamonds and pearls, shaped like a K for Karolus, and inscribed with the text '*Maria optimam partem elegit quae non auferetur ab ea.*' His future conduct contradicted the latter part of the inscription.

Henry paid the twenty-five thousand crowns agreed upon, but, with characteristic caution, demanded a security of a cluster of diamonds worth twice that amount. Friendly letters were interchanged by the Emperor, the King of England, and the Prince of Wales, and Mary received the following quaint note from Charles:—

'MY GOOD MATE,—With good grace and as cordially as I

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can, I recommend myself to you. I have charged the Lord of Bergues and my other ambassadors ordered to your country, to inform you of the good condition of my person and affairs, begging you to believe the same, and to let me know by them of your health and good tidings, which is the thing I most desire, as knows the blessed Son of God, whom I pray, my good mate, to give you by His grace your heart's desires.—At Malines, the 18th day of December—Your good husband,

‘CHARLES’

‘To the Lady Mary, my good mate.’

Mary had every reason to believe in the reliability of her marriage and the certainty of her prospects, but the future was to show that the word of princes, particularly when they were minors, could not be depended upon.

In April 1509 Henry VII. died, and the change of policy consequent upon his death affected Mary's life momentarily. Henry VII. had been anxious for peace and the security of the throne. He had strengthened his position in Europe by alliance with the great powers of Spain and the Empire, against the hereditary enemy France, and at home by the acquisition of great wealth. The taxes he demanded rendered him unpopular, but by filling his treasury rendered him independent of Parliament, and the establishment of the Star Chamber went far towards making him absolute. The Court, like the king, was stern and quiet, and nobles feared to display their wealth lest they should be more heavily taxed. As the king disliked praise or adulation, courtier-like graces perished from inanition. But the accession of Henry VIII. changed everything. The new king was barely eighteen, tall, handsome, the most typically English of the kings of England, vigorous and skilful in arms, frank and generous in temper, a brilliant scholar, and a sound politician—even his enemy Pole said at the beginning of his reign that ‘the King was of a temper from which an excellent king might be hoped.’ His first acts were to remit many of his father's taxes, order the execution of the unpopular ministers of finance, Empson and Dudley, and do all in his power to encourage the New Learning. He became the friend of Colet, Erasmus, and More, who congratulated themselves that a new Augustan era was at hand. At first his aspirations apparently

were for a splendid Court with frequent pageants and tournaments and a learned band of councillors. One day he expressed to Lord Mountjoy a wish that he were a scholar; the courtier replied that it was enough to show regard for those who possessed learning. 'How can I do otherwise,' Henry replied earnestly, 'without them we hardly exist': this remark was promptly communicated to Erasmus.

Sincere as Henry was in his love of learning, he did not sacrifice ambition to it, and even during the first year of his reign, while seemingly occupied with other things, he was carefully watching the situation of Europe and seeking for an opportunity to enter the fray and prove his military prowess. He therefore readily joined the Imperial side in the conflict between France and the other great powers, and was rejoiced to be saluted by the Pope as leader of the Holy League, and presented with the Golden Rose in recognition of his position and services. His first encounter ended in defeat, but the victory of Guinegate restored the reputation of valour to the English. After the capture of Terouenne and Tournay, Henry felt that his 'heritage of France' was as good as regained, and turned his attention to tournaments and gaieties. Suddenly Henry found that Ferdinand had deserted him, and that the Holy League was practically dissolved. Great as was the blow, consolation remained in the fact that England had once more proved her greatness, that the power of France was broken, and the 'barbarians' driven from Italy. But the war had emptied his treasury, and Henry was obliged to conclude a peace with Louis.

The Emperor, the Duchess of Savoy, and Prince Charles were at Lisle not far from Tournay, and Henry resolved to exchange hospitalities, and also have the date of Princess Mary's marriage definitely fixed. Arrangements were made for a visit to Lisle. Henry arrayed himself in gorgeous garments that glittered with jewels, and set out to greet the Emperor, who received him in plain doublet and cloak of black serge. The discrepancy of attire does not seem to have affected the cordiality of the meeting or impaired the goodfellowship of the monarchs, for Henry thoroughly enjoyed the visit, and the date of the wedding was fixed for July in the following year, when

the two royal families would assemble at Calais to celebrate the event. During this visit to Lisle, Charles Brandon, Marshal of the English army in the Netherlands, first comes to the fore in connection with Princess Mary. It is difficult to decide whether he was the hero or the villain of the story. As usual with the glittering figures in history, much depends upon the point of view. To Mary he was as valiant a knight as his contemporaries, *les Preux Chevaliers* Bayard and Gaston de Foix, were to the whole world; but to an unbiassed view his life and character do not coincide with the chivalric ideal. The outer man left little to be desired: he was very tall, very handsome, a brilliant swordsman and accomplished horseman, and a graceful courtier. His father, Sir William Brandon, standard bearer to Henry VII., had given his life for his king on Bosworth Field. Henry out of gratitude took Charles Brandon, aged five, to live at Court and made him a royal ward. Eventually he was given a post in the household of Prince Henry, with whom he soon became a favourite, and a great career seemed to be before him. His mind, unlike Wolsey's, was not entirely centred on ambition: love with him was a potent force. When little more than a boy he was betrothed—possibly married—to Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, lieutenant of Calais. Soon after he fell in love with Anne's cousin, Margaret Neville, daughter of the Marquis of Montacute, and widow of Sir John Mortimer. Brandon, who never acknowledged insuperable obstacles, managed to repudiate Anne Brown and marry the cousin. After a time Lady Margaret palled upon the *preux chevalier*, and his errant heart returned to Anne. He thereupon brought before the archdeacon of London a suit for divorce on the ground of consanguinity, that Margaret's relationship to his first betrothed, or wife, rendered the marriage invalid. He gained his case, and married Anne, who, after presenting him with two daughters, died in 1513. These two daughters figure in history as Lady Anne and Lady Mary Brandon. Early in 1513 he contracted marriage with his ward, Lady Elizabeth Grey, the orphan daughter of Lord Lisle, and was created Baron Lisle on the strength of the engagement. Before the marriage was solemnized, Brandon left England with Henry for the campaign against France, and was with the Court at Lisle and Tournay, where the Duchess of

Savoy was alternately hostess and guest. 'Savoy's blooming Duchess,' as Drayton calls her, was at this time about thirty, and extremely handsome and fascinating. Brandon fell in love with her at first sight; her royal birth and his engagement to Lady Elizabeth Grey were as chaff before the wind of his desire. The Duchess was attracted by the brilliant soldier, who was regarded as second king of England, and appreciated his passionate admiration, but did not seriously contemplate marrying him. Their intimacy increased, and Henry, delighted at the prospect of his favourite marrying the Emperor's daughter, did everything in his power to encourage the affair. On one occasion he made Brandon kneel before the Duchess, draw a ring from her finger, and give her another in exchange. Later she wrote to Henry, saying: 'Brandon was no mate for her, and as the ring taken was her official signet, she must have it restored.' Notwithstanding this rebuff, Brandon and his Duchess parted affectionately, and she promised not to marry till he came back next year. In order to keep himself in her remembrance, he sent his eldest daughter to be educated at the Court of Savoy. But no one dreamt of the serious effect the sentimental episode would have on European affairs.

When the negotiations for the marriage were complete and the tournaments and festivities ended, Henry returned to England and began to collect the silks and jewels that were to form his sister's trousseau. In the midst of the preparations a letter arrived from the Duchess of Savoy expressing her annoyance at a rumour that she was engaged to Brandon: she pointed out that if the report reached her father the Emperor the consequence would be disastrous. Henry replied that he had created Brandon Duke of Suffolk in order to lessen the disparity of rank, and offered to send him to the Imperial Court as resident ambassador. The Duchess persuaded him to keep Suffolk at home, as his presence at Vienna would make matters worse. Soon after it transpired that the Emperor had heard the rumour, and was so angry that he would neither speak nor write to her nor read her letters. The consequences of Maximilian's quarrel with his daughter were momentous. Since his desertion of Henry, Ferdinand had desired the annulment of the engagement between Prince Charles and Princess Mary, and had tried to con-

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vert Maximilian to this policy. Margaret of Savoy was a staunch upholder of this marriage and the English alliance, and her power over the Emperor was more potent than that of the King of Spain. Her influence being removed by the quarrel, Ferdinand's arguments naturally prevailed. When Ferdinand announced that if his grandson married the English princess, he would disinherit him in favour of his brother Ferdinand, and further that he was about to conclude a treaty with France, comprising a French marriage for Prince Charles, Maximilian joined in the treaty and decided to temporize with Henry. He refused to go to Calais as arranged, because he said he feared the plague which was prevalent there. Henry was naturally annoyed at such treatment, and showed his resentment by refusing to purchase, as he had stipulated, the dignity of vicar-general of the Holy Roman Empire for the sum of thirty thousand crowns. This drastic conduct pained the Emperor, who was avaricious and poor, and caused him to send ambassadors to soothe the King of England's injured feelings. Henry met them with dissertations on the indignity he had suffered in being slighted before all Europe: the bride had been ready for the bridegroom and he had not come. The ambassadors explained that no slight had been intended, that the Emperor had been really afraid of the plague, and on that account had wished for the postponement of the ceremony. Immediately they wrote to Maximilian to say that they were charmed with the Princess, who was the most beautiful lady in Europe, and to strongly recommend the marriage, which they urged the Emperor to arrange as quickly as possible. But they did not understand Henry's pride nor the character of the Princess. When Mary realized that her future bridegroom had failed her, she determined to show him that a Princess of England could not be slighted with impunity. Retiring to her manor of Wanstead in July 1514, she summoned the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, Wolsey, Sir Ralph Verney her chamberlain, and other nobles and bishops, and caused them to witness a letter to her recalcitrant *fiancé* to the effect that as she was informed that the nearest relatives and councillors of the Prince of Castille were constantly endeavouring to inspire him with hate and dislike towards herself and her royal brother, she was firmly resolved

never to fulfil her contract of marriage with the prince. She also declared, though probably the assertion was rather the result of wounded feeling than the truth, that she never entertained any wife-like affection towards him, but had long been waiting an opportunity to throw off the nuptial yoke, and gladly seized the first that offered. This resolution, she said, was made independently of the persuasions or threats of any person whatever, and was her own sole act and deed, and that she had summoned the nobles present, not only to obtain their attestation but also to entreat their intercession with her royal brother that he would regard what she had done in good part, and not be displeased with her on account of it; since in all things she was ever ready to obey his good pleasure.

It is possible that Mary's firmness with Prince Charles was not due alone to outraged dignity, as at the time she was very much in love with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, regardless and ignorant of his previous *affaires de cœur*. They both probably cherished the illusion that when the Austrian marriage was abandoned, Henry would look favourably upon the union of his sister and his favourite. But Henry had higher hopes for the most beautiful princess in Europe. Having been spitefully treated by both the Emperor and the King of Spain, he projected an alliance with France; and Louis XII., seeing himself at war on all sides, was anxious for the friendship of England. Henry offered his sister's hand as a culmination of the bargain, and Louis, having heard of her beauty from the Duc de Longueville, was delighted to accept the offer, and indeed made the marriage a condition of the treaty. Wolsey advocated both the treaty and the marriage, as he realized as no former statesman had done the necessity for the balance of power in Europe. The defeats France had suffered made her a more acceptable ally than her previous victories. To be allied with a paramount power meant an amount of subserviency, and Wolsey ever strove for the predominance of England and her greatness. This peace, formed chiefly by Wolsey, lasted seven years, much to the advantage of both countries.

It was arranged that Mary should have the same jointure as her predecessor Anne of Bretagne, that a marriage by proxy should take place in London on 17 August, and that within

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two months of that date the Princess should be sent at Henry's expense to Abbeville, when the actual marriage should be solemnized. In case of her husband's death, Mary was to keep her jointure, her bridal equipage, and such furniture and jewels as the queens-dowager of France were wont to possess for life.

Every one was delighted with the arrangements. Wolsey went so far as to remark that the Princess would soon return to England a widow with a royal dowry, and Suffolk cherished the same anticipation: only to the bride herself the prospect of wedding an elderly invalid was repugnant. But Henry disregarded her distress, and expatiated on the good she was doing her country by sacrificing her personal feelings, and, in a moment of generosity, promised that if she would gracefully agree to the marriage she should be permitted to choose her next husband. Mary noted the promise and accepted the King of France.

Mary's consent gained, the preparations for the proxy marriage were accelerated, and on 13 August it was solemnized at Grey Friars Church, Greenwich. 'The deputy of Louis XII,' says Mrs. Everett Green, quoting a letter in the Harleian MS., 'was Louis d'Orleans, Duke of Longueville, who exchanged with Lady Mary a signed copy of the words of the engagement undertaken by each. To confer upon the ceremonies a character of still greater irrevocability, the Princess, changing her Court dress for a magnificent *deshabille*, retired to a couch of state; and her proxy bridegroom, putting off one of his red boots, took his place by her side for a few moments and touched her leg with his bare foot.' The King, Queen, and the courtiers, including Suffolk, were all present at this remarkable scene.

On 22 August, Mary, now styled Queen of France, wrote to tell Louis that she had willingly contracted the marriage by proxy, and asked that he would go through a similar ceremony, and appointed Lord Worcester her representative. Accordingly, on 14 September, Louis plighted his troth to Mary by means of Lord Worcester, in the church of the Celestines in Paris.

As Henry had made his arrangements with regard to the French alliance and marriage secretly, the governments of Austria and Spain were not cognizant of the proposed engagement till the proxy marriage was accomplished. The Duchess

of Savoy was infuriated at the news, and wrote to tell Henry that he had broken his kingly word and brought dishonour upon his character, that the arrangements for Prince Charles's marriage with Princess Mary were progressing, and the marriage treaty was unbroken, and concluded by threatening to publish his former promise, and so make his infidelity known to the world. Henry truthfully replied that the Imperialists, not he, had broken the agreement, and that if she published his promise he would publish hers, and she 'would thereby be involved in a still greater discredit.' Margaret's rage was so violent when she received this information that it was feared her health would be permanently injured. It is probable that she expressed clearly to her father her opinion of him for rescinding his promise to Henry without her knowledge or consent.

Neither persuasion nor threats would force Henry to act against his will, and arrangements for the French marriage proceeded as before. Louis was impatient for the arrival of his bride; the Duc de Longueville's description had made him anxious to see her, and Henry was asked to expedite her journey. On 23 September, therefore, he sent to his ministers in Paris to command them to repair to Abbeville and witness his sister's marriage to the King of France on her arrival.

Everything having been arranged, Mary set out on her journey; the King, Queen, and the whole Court accompanied her to Dover. The sea was rough and she was unable to embark till 2 October. After a tearful farewell of Katharine and her friends, she was led to the ship by her brother, who tried to comfort her by repeating his approval of her conduct and renewing his promise that she should never again be called upon to make such a sacrifice. Then kissing her he 'betook her to God, and to the fortune of the sea, and to the governance of the French king, her husband.'

Thus the only English princess who became a queen-consort of France left her native shores. Her one consolation for leaving family and friends was found in a hope that could only be realized by the death of the kind old husband to whom she was travelling. There is no record that Suffolk was with the Court at Dover, but it is probable that the disconsolate Queen's thoughts were with him.

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About an hour after sailing the weather changed and a storm arose that dispersed the little fleet and nearly wrecked Mary's ship. All night it tossed in the raging sea, and waves dashing over it drenched the Queen and her ladies ; death seemed nearer than marriage. In the morning the ship ran ashore near the entrance of Boulogne harbour. The situation was still perilous ; small boats came to the rescue, but they could not be drawn up to the beach. At last a tall and stalwart knight, Sir Richard Garneys, took the Queen in his arms and wading through breakers that reached his waist, carried her safely to the French shore.

So, weary, drenched, and frightened, with her wet golden hair clinging to her shoulders, Mary, Princess of England and Queen-consort of France, landed in her adopted country.

She was received at Boulogne by the Duc de Vendôme, who was to escort her to Abbeville. Before continuing her journey she asked for a few days in which to recover from the effects of her tempestuous voyage, and also to give her suite, who had been scattered at various places along the coast, time to re-unite.

At length she started for Abbeville on horseback, and attended by her bodyguard of English horsemen and archers and some French nobles sent by Louis. Near the city she was met by Francis, Duke of Valois, Louis's son-in-law, heir to the throne, and usually called the Dauphin. Francis turned and rode by her side, and before the ride was ended discovered that he was deeply in love with his prospective stepmother-in-law. Meanwhile Louis, who had heard of his bride's safe arrival, behaved more like an ardent young lover than an elderly invalid.

Instead of waiting to receive his wife in state he rode out to meet her, accompanied by fifteen hundred horsemen ; his pretence that it was a hunting expedition deceived no one.

They met at St. Nicholas des Essarts. Mary would have offered homage of the knee, as etiquette required, but Louis restrained her, and, without dismounting, kissed her, whispered a few kind words of welcome, and then rode back to Abbeville.

When the city was in sight, the Queen exchanged her horse for a litter, which was thrown open in order that her new sub-

jects might see their beautiful Queen. She was received at the gates with fanfares of trumpets, volleys of artillery, and vociferous cheers of the people. The streets were decorated ; scenes from mystery plays, tapestry, and banners greeted her eyes on every side, and Speed, the chronicler, who was present, says : ' She looked more like an angel than a human creature ; and the French so gazed at their new Queen's beauty as though they could not cast their eyes from her attractive rays.'

She proceeded to the Hôtel de la Gruthuse, where Louis, surrounded by the princes and peers of France, awaited her. On her arrival the Duke of Norfolk presented her to her King and husband, and made a long speech on behalf of Henry VIII. A banquet followed, and then a ball, and it was very late when the tired Queen was free to go to her room.

The following day, Monday, 9 October, St. Denis's day, the marriage took place in the Cathedral of St. Wolfram. The ceremony was performed by Cardinal Bric, assisted by the Archbishop of Rouen. The Dukes of Valois and d'Alençon held the canopy over the bride and bridegroom, and Princess Claude of France, Duchess of Valois, in tears, was the chief lady. High Mass followed, and then the King and Queen of France held their wedding reception at their palace of la Gruthuse.

CHAPTER VI

Mary's distress at the banishment of her ladies. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, at the French Court. Mary's coronation. Death of Louis. Francis's suit. Mary marries Suffolk. Henry forgives them.

THE day after the wedding Mary was distressed to find that nearly all her English attendants, including Lady Guildford, her chief lady-in-waiting, had been sent back to England. With tears she implored Louis to recall them, but he refused to rescind his order. He objected to the presence of a number of foreigners at his Court, and he particularly disliked Lady Guildford, who, having been with Mary from her infancy, attempted to exercise an almost maternal authority over her, and insisted on being present during the visits of the royal family, and remaining in attendance when the King desired a little private conversation with his wife. In order to assuage Mary's grief he gave her the wonderful diamond called *Miroir de Naples*; but she was not so easily comforted, and wrote to tell Henry of her troubles and ask him to persuade the King to let the ladies return:—

‘MY GOOD BROTHER,—As heartily as I can I commend me to your grace, marvelling much that I have never heard from you since our departing, so often have I sent and written to you. And now I am left almost alone in effect; for on the morn next after the marriage, my chamberlain, with all other manservants, were discharged; and in likewise my mother Guildford, with other my women and maidens, except such as never had experience nor knowledge how to advertise or give me counsel, in any time of need, which is to be feared more shortly than your grace thought at the time of my departure, as my mother Guildford can more plainly show your grace than I can write; to whom I beseech you give credence. And if it may be by any means possible, I humbly require you

to cause my said mother Guildford to repair hither at once again. For else if any chance happen other than well I shall not know where to ask any good counsel, to your pleasure, nor yet to my own profit.

‘I marvel much that my Lord of Norfolk would, at all times so lightly grant everything at their request here. I am well assured that when you know the truth of everything, as my mother Guildford can show you, you would full little have thought I should have been thus entreated: would God, my Lord of York had come with me in the room of Norfolk; for then I am sure I should have been left much more at my heart’s ease than I am now: and thus I bid your grace farewell, with as much honour as ever had prince; and more heart’s ease than I have now.

‘From Abbeville the 12 day of October.

‘I pray you give credence to my mother Guildford, By your loving sister,

MARY, QUEEN OF FRANCE’

The question upon which she desired counsel was probably that of the amatory advances of Francis of Valois. Her annoyance with Norfolk arose, as did Margaret’s when he as Lord Surrey accompanied her to Scotland, from his readiness to agree with any proposal her husband might make rather than vindicate her own wishes. That his niece Anne Boleyn was one of the few English left with the Queen does not argue for his singlemindedness. Mary wrote a similar letter to Wolsey, with the result that that prelate, on Henry’s behalf, wrote to Louis to express surprise at Lady Guildford’s sudden discharge, and a hope that she might be recalled as ‘the queen . . . not understanding the language perfectly, and having no acquaintance with any of the ladies there, to whom she might declare such feelings as women are given to, . . . might find herself desolate, as it were, and might thereby entertain regret and displeasure; which peradventure might cause her to have some sickness, and her bodily health be impaired!’ Wolsey wrote also to ask Lord Worcester, the English ambassador, to put the matter verbally before the King. Having done so he wrote a vivid account of the interview to Wolsey:—

‘MY GOOD LORD,—As touching the return of my Lady Guildford I have done to my power, and in the best way I could, to

the French King ; and he hath answered me that his wife and he be in good and perfect love, as ever two creatures can be, and both of age to rule themselves, and not to have servants that should look to rule him or her. If his wife need counsel, or to be ruled, he is able to do it ; but he was sure it was never the Queen's mind nor desire to have her again ; for as soon as she came to land, and also when she was married, she began to take upon her, not only to rule the Queen, but also that he should not come to her but that *she* should be with her ; nor that no lady nor lord should speak with her but *she* should hear it ; and began to set a murmur and banding among ladies of the Court ; and then he swore there was never man that better loved his wife than he did, but ere he would have such a woman about her he had lieve be without her ; and he said that he knew well when the King his good and loving brother knew this his answer, he would be contented, for in no wise he would not have her about his wife . . . and he is sure the Queen his wife is content withal ; for he hath set about her neither lady nor gentlewoman to be with her for her mistress, but her servants to obey her commands. . . . My lord,' continues the ambassador, 'the French queen told me that she loved Lady Guildford well, but she is content that she will come not, for she is in that case that she may well be without her, for she may do what she will.'

Thus the incident of the lost ladies was satisfactorily arranged ; by pointing out to his young wife that she was capable of ruling herself, and that the members of her household should be servants not her advisers, Louis won her from the desire for the return of her friends. The French ladies and gentlewomen placed near her by Louis compared favourably with the departed English. Margaret of Valois, author of the *Heptameron*, was a shining light of culture and learning ; her mother, Louise of Savoy, a brilliant stateswoman and diplomatist, Mary of Luxembourg, from her good works called 'the mother of the poor' ; and good Princess Claude, Duchess of Valois, a pattern of courtesy and kindness ; while the only notable English one, Lady Guildford, appears to have been, judging from her diplomatic failure when she took Princess Margaret to Scotland, and the dislike with which she

inspired Louis XII., a jealous, domineering, and interfering person whose good and patriotic intentions were ill expressed. Hall gives a melancholy account of the condition of the rest of Mary's train after their departure from Abbeville. Some, in the hope that she would one day be able to provide for them lived 'on scant allowance; others had been at much expense to wait on her in France, and now returned destitute, which many took to heart, insomuch some died by the way returning and some fell mad.' Mary had done her best to make reparation for their summary dismissal by arranging that six hundred crowns worth of jewels should be distributed amongst them when they reached England.

Presently all thoughts of the banished ladies were put out of her head by the prospect of her triumphal progress to Paris and coronation at St. Denis. The departure from Abbeville was delayed a little by Louis having an attack of gout. Mary proved a kind and affectionate nurse, and he a singularly amiable patient; for she said that even when the pain was bad 'he made as much of her as it was possible for any man to make of a lady.' On 24 October he was sufficiently well to start for Paris. On the twenty-sixth they reached Beauvois, where they were met by the Duke of Suffolk and the Marquis of Dorset, who were on their way to represent Henry VIII. at his sister's coronation.

As the King and Queen journeyed to Paris the latter exercised her royal prerogative to release the prisoners in all towns through which she passed. St. Denis was reached early in November, and it was arranged that the royal party should remain there till after Mary's coronation, it not being customary for the Queen of France to enter the capital uncrowned.

The coronation took place on Sunday, 5 November, in the Cathedral of St. Denis. At about ten o'clock a flourish of trumpets announced that the Queen's procession had started. The Princes and Princesses, peers and peeresses of France preceded her, and Francis of Valois led her to the cushion before the altar on which she was to kneel. After a few minutes' silence Cardinal Brie advanced and anointed her with the sacred oil, placed the sceptre in her right hand, the rod of justice in her left, the ring upon her finger, and crowned her

with the crown-matrimonial of France. The actual coronation accomplished, Francis led the Queen to a chair of state on the left side of the altar, where she sat during the singing of High Mass. As the crown was very heavy the enamoured Francis stood behind her and held it so that though she still appeared to be wearing it she felt no weight. After the Queen had communicated and made her offering, the procession reformed and returned to the palace, where Mary was joined by her husband, who had privately witnessed the ceremony. It was not etiquette for an anointed king to be present at his consort's coronation. Early next morning Louis hastened to Paris in order to receive his Queen in state in the afternoon.

Mary started at nine o'clock. She was dressed in cloth-of-gold sparkling with jewels, on her head a crown of pearls. Her carriage was draped with cloth-of-gold and her white horses harnessed with silver. The procession began with the heralds of England and France, and the Scottish archers commanded by Albany, Regent of Scotland; the princes of France and nobles of England followed; then came the Queen with Francis of Valois riding by her side; just behind her were the princesses of France on horseback, and the state carriages brought up the rear.

It was dark when she reached the Palace of St. Louis—now the Conciergerie—where the King was waiting to receive her. He was crowned and wearing robes of state, and all the Court was around him; the Queen advanced, knelt and did homage, then was raised by the King and led to the banqueting hall. After this were 'several pastimes and diversions to rejoice the Queen and her company,' and then at last she was able to retire to her room, where, in the words of Suffolk, 'she did sleep all night.'

On 13 November the great tournament began. The lists were erected in the park of the Hôtel de Tournelles, and a large stand for the royal family was put up in the centre of the space allotted to the spectators. Mary stood in front of the box in order to see and be seen; Louis, weak and ill, lay on a couch behind her, enjoying chiefly her obvious happiness.

It was a splendid scene: the chief knights of England and France in shining armour rode round the lists before each

course, and when saluting the King and Queen their lofty plumes were bent almost to their saddle-bows 'so that it was a pleasure to see them.' Then they fought and displayed their prowess as warlike cavaliers. Francis was valiant in battle, but Suffolk unhorsed him and eventually wounded him. Mortified at being defeated by a man whom he believed to be his rival in love as well as valour, Francis suborned a gigantic German and put him in the place of a knight whom Suffolk was to have fought. The fight was furious, and the judges permitted more than the appointed number of strokes. But Suffolk was victorious and the hero of the tournament; and Francis had the chagrin of seeing his mean action redound to his adversary's glory.

As time went on the natural antipathy of the French and English knights increased, and their blows became harder, and 'at every course many dead were carried off without any notice taken.'

Mary's joy in Suffolk's triumph was mitigated by her fear of the probable result of Anglo-French antagonism. Therefore when the tournament was over she sent for the English ambassador and asked him to desire the Duc de Longueville and all the Cabinet ministers 'that they would be good and loving to her, and that they would give her counsel from time to time how she might order herself best to please the King. And because she knew they were men that the King loved and trusted, and knew best his mind, therefore she was utterly determined to love and trust them, and be ordered by their counsel in all things.' The ministers were naturally delighted with her message, and promised to do all she wished. By thus tactfully appealing to the French Government, Mary took the very best possible course for eliminating the unhappy contentions that so frequently occurred between the adherents of the Queen and the ministers of the King. If Elizabeth of Bohemia and Henrietta Maria of England had followed her example, less disastrous results might have emanated from their queenships.

The knights soon returned to England, but Suffolk remained behind to arrange some secret business for Henry. He accompanied the King and Queen to St. Germain's on 22 November; and with the Dukes of Valois and Bourbon escorted

Mary to Paris on the following Sunday. The occasion of the journey was a dinner given by the mayor and citizens of Paris to the Queen. The Parisians collected in such force to welcome her that it was impossible for her retinue to pass through them to the main entrance of the Hôtel de Ville. She would not permit violence, and the only alternative was to ride to a side door and enter the banqueting hall by means of the back staircase. After the dinner was over the Queen went into the council-chamber, and a present of various kinds of costly spices in coffers was offered for her acceptance. Later in the day she went to the Palace des Tournelles and received a deputation from the University. A beautifully illuminated address was presented, in which she was compared to Abishag, who comforted David in his old age, and to Queen Esther. In return for these and other extravagant compliments, she was expected to grant three petitions: 'to recommend the university to the King's favour; to recognise it as her eldest daughter, and ever continue an advocate to the preservation of its privileges; and to evince maternal love, not only towards this establishment, but towards all virtuous and learned persons.'

In the evening she rode back to St. Germain and told Louis of her adventurous day. The King and Queen remained quietly at St. Germain for three weeks, and the latter spent much of her time in writing to Henry, chiefly to intercede for his French prisoners, and to ask him to help her ladies who seemed so broken-hearted at their dismissal.

Notwithstanding her determination to do everything in her power to please her husband, Mary failed in one respect, and for that later she incurred censure. 'Louis XII.,' says the chronicler, 'loved to observe the good old custom of dining at eight in the morning and going to bed at six in the afternoon, but it now suited his young queen that he should dine at noon, and not go to rest till midnight.' Louis was quite willing to fall in with Mary's domestic arrangements, but the change told upon his health, and when they returned to Paris in the middle of December his weakness increased. He would not allow his illness to be attributed to Mary's innovation; but, when the arrangements for the dowry were at length concluded, and Suffolk and the other ambassadors were returning, he sent

Henry a letter in which he said that 'the Queen conducted herself daily towards him in such a sort that he knew not sufficiently how to praise her, and that he more than ever loved, honoured, and held her dear.'

This letter was written on 28 December, and three days later, 1 January, 1515, Louis XII. died at the Hôtel de Tournelles. On the day of his death, wrote Robert de la Marc, 'there was the most horrible weather that ever was seen; and I swear to you on my faith, that it was for sorrow for his death; . . . for he was a gentile prince, who had done many fine things in his time, and the most part in person.'

Immediately after Louis's death Mary retired to the Hôtel de Cluny, in order to fulfil the condition of French etiquette, which required that after her husband's death a Queen of France should array herself in a loose white *robe de chambre*, and remain in a darkened room for six weeks. The custom arose from the fact that the three successors to Philip IV. died while heirs to the throne were expected shortly to make their appearance. And the term *la reine blanche* was subsequently applied to royal widows, until it was certain that nothing would interfere with the presumptive succession.

Mary's position was now most difficult. Instead of being an old man's darling, she was the object of political and monetary advantage to three countries. England, in the person of Henry VIII., wished her to return and marry an English noble, and so bring both her marriage portion and her widow's dowry into her native land. Margaret of Savoy still desired that the beautiful Queen and her possessions should be obtained by Charles of Castille. Francis and the French nobles hoped to keep the treasures and jewels in France. Francis at first conceived a plan for divorcing his wife, Claude of France, and marrying Mary, but when his mother pointed out that besides losing Bretagne he would forfeit the loyalty of half the nobles, he gave up the idea, and advised Mary to marry the Duke of Savoy, with whom he was anxious to form an alliance; at the same time he made overtures that she described later as 'not consistent with her honour.'

Francis, as King of France, had access to her, darkened room, and every opportunity to press his suit. Henry sent

messages by Wolsey forbidding her to promise marriage without his consent, and Mary herself had resolved to marry Suffolk. Worried by Francis, advised, but not aided by Henry, and watched by Louise of Savoy, Mary found life in France intolerable, and wrote to implore her brother to send for her back to England.

On receiving her letter, Henry at once arranged that Suffolk, Wingfield, and Dr. West should go to Paris with congratulatory messages for Francis, and authority to demand that Queen Mary and her dowry should be delivered into their charge. Before they started Henry insisted upon Suffolk taking a solemn oath that 'he would not abuse his trust by any particular manifestation of partiality to the young Queen consigned to his guardianship.' Making Suffolk swear not to manifest partiality to Mary was a diplomatic act on Henry's part, intended not to prevent the marriage, but to put Suffolk in the wrong if it should take place, and also give the King an opportunity for righteous wrath that could only be appeased by gifts. If Henry had honestly objected to the marriage of his sister with Suffolk, he would have sent another noble to bring her home, for he was perfectly aware of the affection that existed between them. Really he believed the marriage inevitable under the circumstances, and so determined that it should be arranged in a manner advantageous to himself. Subsequent events proved that his calculations were correct.

Meanwhile, in the hope of averting Francis's unwelcome attentions, Mary took him in her confidence with regard to her love for Suffolk. The plan was successful, for Francis, apart from the natural chivalry and desire to please her, upon which she had counted, had a strong motive for helping on the marriage. It was now improbable that she would marry a French noble or an ally of France, and the next best thing for that country was for her to marry an English nobleman; Francis's great fear was that Henry would force her to marry Charles of Spain, and so cause French treasure to fill the coffers of an inimical nation. Therefore the King substituted sympathy for love, and promised to do all in his power to bring about the desired event.

On 28 January Francis was crowned at Rheims, and

immediately afterwards set out for Paris. When he reached Compiègne he met the English embassy. He welcomed them cordially, and arranged for a private interview with Suffolk, in order to discover his plans with regard to Queen Mary. The Duke wrote a detailed account of the interview to Wolsey : 'The French King . . . had me into his bed-chamber, and said unto me. "My Lord of Suffolk, so it is that there is a bruit in this my realm, that you are come to marry the Queen, your master's sister" ; and when I heard him say so, I answered that I trusted his grace would not reckon so great folly in me, to come into a strange realm and marry a Queen of the realm, without his knowledge and without authority from the King my master to him, and that they both might be content ; but I said I assured his grace that I had no such thing, and that it was never intended on the King's, my master's behalf, nor on mine—and then he said, it was not so ; for since that I would not be plain with him, he would be plain with me, and showed me that the Queen herself had broken her mind unto him, and that he had promised her his faith and truth, and by the truth of a King he would help her and do what was possible in him to help her to obtain her heart's desire. And because that you shall not think that I do bear you this in hand, that she have not spoken her mind, I will show you some words that you have of his grace, and so showed me a *ware* word, which none alive could tell them but she, and when that there I was abashed and he saw that, and said, "Because for that you shall say that you have found a kind prince and a loving king, and because you shall not think me other, here I give you in your hand my faith and truth, by the word of a king, that I shall never fail you, with as goodwill as I would for mine own self." And when he had done this, I could do none less than thank his grace, for the great goodness that his grace intended to show unto the Queen and me, and by it I showed his grace, that I was like to be undone if this matter should come to the ears of the king my master : and then he said, "Let me alone for that ; I and the Queen shall so intance your master that I trust that he would be content ; and because I would gladly put your heart at rest, I will when I come to Paris speak with the Queen, and she and I both will write letters to the King your master in our own

hands, in the best manner that can be desired." The letter ends with a request for Wolsey's advice as, in spite of Francis's promised aid, Suffolk remembered his oath not to manifest partiality for the Queen, and greatly feared Henry's displeasure.

On 4 February the ambassadors reached Paris, and on the following day Mary received them at Cluny. They delivered Henry's letters, and 'in the best words they could desire' comforted her on his behalf. She thanked them, and said how immensely she appreciated Henry's kindness in sending them, particularly Suffolk, to her in her grief, and added that never was princess more beholden to her sovereign and brother as she to hers, and that she would be an unkind sister if she did not act as he wished; and she hoped he knew that, though sorely pressed, she would continue to refuse all matrimonial engagements suggested by the King of France. The ambassador stayed to dinner, and afterwards Suffolk managed to have a little confidential talk with the Queen. In answer to his question concerning Francis's conduct to her, she said that he had 'made suit unto her not according with her honour,' but since she had told him of her feelings for Suffolk he had treated her with perfect courtesy. Also she confided to him her fear that she might be forced into an uncongenial marriage, and showed her distress at the prospect. Suffolk comforted her as best he could with the remembrance of his oath in his mind, and then retired.

They met as frequently as Mary's health, which had broken down under the stress and worry of the last six weeks, would permit, and though Suffolk's affection for her was perfectly obvious, discretion made him dumb as to his definite expression of it.

In a letter to Henry, written a few days after the arrival of the embassy, Mary said she was longing to return to her beloved brother, and to be so situated that she need never part from him again. And that every day that passed seemed a thousand till she should see him, and as she had been very ill, diseased with the toothache and distressing attacks of hysterical weeping, she implored him to send his surgeon, Master John, to heal her.

A few days later she was cheered by the arrival of Wolsey's reply to Suffolk's letter from Compiègne; the Archbishop assured his friend of Henry's goodwill, and advised him to persuade the French king and queen to write as soon as possible with regard to his marriage with Queen Mary. As this letter distinctly implied that Henry would not be averse to her marriage with the Duke of Suffolk, Mary wrote to ask him to definitely consent to it. She gave him a long account of her interview with Francis, and laid stress on the idea that if she had kept 'the secret of her heart' from him he might have continued in his 'malfantasy and suit,' and pointed out how infinitely preferable was the honourable intention of the Duke. She ended by saying that Francis had promised to write to her beloved brother on her behalf. Francis also wrote an account of his interview with Mary, and entreated Henry to gratify him by consenting to the marriage; and Suffolk himself wrote a courtier-like epistle, which began with a suggestion that if Francis's request were not granted he might again prefer his former suit, 'the which he knew the Queen would rather be out of the world than to abide.' And ended with a request that the Queen and he might return to England as soon as possible.

Meantime it was rumoured in the English Court that the Duke of Suffolk aspired to marriage with the Queen-Dowager of France, whose revenue was great as that of any princess in the world, and who, above all, was the King of England's sister. The old nobility had always hated Suffolk, and now the moment seemed to have arrived for them to circumvent his fall. They did all they could to undermine the King's affection for him, and circulated all sorts of scandalous gossip about him. They tried to make Henry forbid the marriage, but only succeeded in preventing him from consenting to it. Once more fate played into Henry's hands, and gave him an opportunity to temporize. His letters to Francis and the Queen were gracious but ambiguous, and Mary, who had relied on Wolsey's earlier accounts of Henry's attitude, began to fear that after all she would be separated from Suffolk.

At the moment when her fears were worst two friars arrived from England and visited her. Instructed by Suffolk's enemies, they told her that Henry had decided that she should marry

her former betrothed, and that Suffolk had orders to 'land her in Flanders and give her in wedlock to Charles of Castille.' They added that Suffolk had been chosen for the deed because he was the noble she would be most likely to trust. This was the final blow to Mary's courage and endurance. The fear of marriage with the hated Charles, and the horrible suspicion that Suffolk was false to her, drove her to desperate measures.

In the evening she had an interview with Suffolk, an account of which he subsequently wrote to Henry. 'When the Queen was *in hand* with me . . . she said "she must be short with me and show to me her pleasure and mine," and so she began, and showed how good a lady she was to me, and if I would be ordered by her, verily she would have none but me. The Queen had been visited by friars that day . . . "An' ever I come to England," she continued, "I never shall have you, and therefore plainly an' you marry me not now, I will never have you nor never come to England." I replied, "You say that but to prove me withal." "I would but you know well," she answered, "at your coming to Paris how it was shown to me." I asked her what that was . . . "I go to England," she said, "then I am sent to Flanders, and I would be torn to pieces rather than ever come there!" With that she wept as never saw I woman so weep.' Suffolk did his best to comfort her and reassure her, by saying, 'there is none such thing by my faith,' and with the best words I could, but in no wise could I make her believe it; and when I saw that, I showed her grace that an' her grace would be content to write unto King Henry to obtain his goodwill, I would be content, or else I durst not, because I had made such and such a promise.' Suffolk's timidity and apparent wish to use his oath to Henry as an obstacle to her desires, urged Mary to a more determined effort. 'If the King my brother is content and the French King here—the one by his letters and the other by his words—that I should have you, yet will I have the time to my desire, or else I may well think that the words of them in these parts and of them from England be true—and that is, that you are come to 'tice me hence, to the intent that I may be married in Flanders, which I never will an' I die for it, so I promised the French King 'ere you came. Thus, if so be you will not be content to

follow after my mind, look never after this day to have the proffer again.' And, concluded Suffolk, 'I saw me in that case that I thought it better rather to put me at your Highnesses mercy than to lose all, so I granted thereto, and so she and I were married.'

Here Suffolk's narrative ends, but it appears that Louise of Savoy, who had kept watch over Mary's actions since Louis's death, had observed Suffolk's arrival, and thinking the interview indecorously long, entered the room at the psychological moment. A weeping queen with a fascinating cavalier bending over her was enough to arouse the suspicions of a right-minded dowager. Louise expressed her views with more openness than courtesy, and ended with a command that the apparently erring lovers should immediately repair to an adjacent chapel to be married. Happily a service was in process and the priests ready to perform the ceremony. Thus, in the presence of about a dozen people hastily summoned, Mary Tudor married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, whom she had loved since her girlhood.

The secrecy in which her wedding was performed has resulted in uncertainty as to date, but the dates of the various letters and the exigencies of the case point to 3 March, which is given in the Fontanien Portefeuille, rather than to 14 February, suggested by some historians. Two days later, on 5 March, Suffolk wrote to tell Wolsey of the momentous step he had taken. 'When I came to Paris,' he wrote, 'I heard many things which put me in great fear, and so did the Queen both; and the Queen would never let me have no rest, till I had granted her to be married. And so to be plain with you, I have married her heartily.' Suffolk, like Adam, was anxious to lay the chief blame upon the weaker partner in the indiscretion.

Mary showed more prudence. On 6 March she wrote a charming letter to Henry, beseeching him to send for her that she might shortly see him and so realize the greatest desire she had in the world.

But neither Suffolk's sycophancy nor Mary's flattery availed to avert Henry's wrath; the blow fell a few days later when Wolsey's letter arrived. The Archbishop expressed his pro-

found grief and surprise at the news of the marriage, and said that although Suffolk had enjoined secrecy he had felt it his duty to acquaint Henry with the facts of the case, and that they had been received grievously and displeasurably, not so much because Suffolk had had the temerity to marry Queen Mary as that he had broken his oath; as Henry had believed that he would rather have been 'torn with wild horses' than fail to keep his word. After expiating at length on Henry's wrath, Wolsey delicately hinted that possibly it might be appeased, and Suffolk's life spared, if a sufficient bribe were offered. Four thousand a year out of Mary's dowry, and all the plate and gold Louis had given her, Wolsey thought might avail as a propitiatory offering.

On receipt of this letter Mary wrote to explain that she alone was to blame for the marriage, and reminded Henry of his promise to let her choose her second husband. Suffolk also wrote a pitiful appeal for pardon, and discreetly hinted that Mary would be content to give her brother and sovereign any sum he might ask. Thus everything transpired as Henry had anticipated, and by an act of gracious condonation he was enabled to replenish his treasury.

Although Francis had treated Mary with the greatest consideration and courtesy, and had immediately upon his succession secured to her her dowry, he was unwilling that the Crown jewels, particularly the *Miroir de Naples*, which only belonged to the queen-dowager for life, should be taken from the country. Legal controversy ensued, and resulted in Mary's getting half the royal plate and, as a favour, not a right, the celebrated diamond.

After a number of letters expressing devotion to Henry, and a wish to accede to any terms he might suggest, and more to Wolsey teeming with gratitude for his saving suggestion, Suffolk and the Queen were informed that they might return to England.

On 16 April Mary and her husband left Paris with a small retinue. Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, the only two English ladies left to Mary, had been taken into the house of Queen Claude, and therefore remained in France.

Two days later the Queen and her party reached Calais where

she elected to remain until Henry's permission was ratified. In order to ensure it, Mary wrote again insisting that the marriage had taken place at her, not Suffolk's wish, reiterating her promises to give Henry her dower and all the gold plate and jewels she had had from Louis.

Henry replied kindly, and suggested that as few knew of the secret marriage, Mary and Suffolk should pretend to be only betrothed, and that a public wedding should be solemnized soon after their arrival.

More than satisfied at this arrangement, the bride and bridegroom crossed at once to England, where Mary was affectionately received by her brother, and Suffolk treated with courtesy. Henry hurried the arrangements for the wedding, and on 13 May, 1515, Mary and her beloved Duke were married at Grey Friars Church, Greenwich, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and, says an eyewitness, 'many other nobles and honourable personages, as well spiritual as temporal, of the kingdom of England, being at that time in Court, and all the estates of the kingdom have been and are well content and very joyous withal.' Though some thought their Princess should have married a royal personage, preferably the Prince of Castille; others, 'the wiser sort,' according to Hall, 'were content, considering that if she had married again out of the realm, she would have carried much riches with her.'

At the tournament given in honour of the wedding, Suffolk inscribed upon his banner the following lines written by himself:—

Cloth of gold do not despise
Though thou hast wedded cloth of frieze.
Cloth of frieze, be not too bold
Though thou hast wedded cloth of gold.

CHAPTER VII

Life in England. Henry's meanness. Charles v. to marry Prince's Mary. Conquers Francis. Breaks his engagement with Princess Mary. Lady Mortimer. Henry's divorce. Mary's daughter Frances marries Marquis of Dorset. Coronation of Anne Boleyn. Death of Mary.

WITH her marriage with Suffolk ended Mary's importance as a factor in European affairs. Henry could no longer offer her hand as an incentive to an alliance with a powerful prince. But by chicanery he had contrived that her *mesalliance* should bring him that which was now of greater value—vast sums of ready money and an income of about four thousand pounds a year. Six years had changed the King, whom both courtiers and scholars had greeted as a paragon of perfection, into a self-willed autocrat. Henry's ambition was now not only to be a successful warrior and a patron of learning but a despotic ruler of his dominions. His military expenditure had made him mercenary, and he levied taxes ruthlessly. The sequestration of the greater part of Mary's dowry was a possibility not to be neglected, though his rapacity in demanding the repayment of a forgotten debt of Suffolk's of five thousand pounds, and also of the cost of his embassy to France, and his wedding was too mean to be euphonized as diplomatic. The result of Henry's avarice was that the bride and bridegroom were obliged to return to their estates and retrench.

On reaching Westthorp Mary's first act was to send for her step-daughter, Lady Anne Brandon. That she was more anxious for the girl's presence than Suffolk was shown by a sentence in a letter he wrote to his quondam *inamorata*, asking that Anne should be sent home. 'I had intended to leave her permanently with you, since I know no place where she could better be, but the Queen has so urged and prayed me to have her

that I could not contradict her.' This does not show much perspicacity on the part of Suffolk, as Mary in her wish to have his daughter back could only have been actuated by a desire to please him.

Notwithstanding their forced economy, Mary and her husband frequently visited the Court. Henry was too fond of their society to allow them to stay away from him for long. And it was in London, in Bath Palace, that Mary's eldest son was born. The baptism was conducted with royal splendour; the King and Queen were both sponsors, and the former gave the child his own name, and subsequently created him Earl of Lincoln.

In March 1517 the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk entertained Queen Katharine at Castle Rising, and a few weeks later a return visit was paid to Pichmond for the May festivities. When the gaiety was its height on 1 May, it was interrupted by the news of the insurrection of the London apprentices. They had committed such outrages, particularly against foreigners, that the Constable of the Tower had fired his cannons over Cheapside, where the riot had broken out. Numbers of the youths were arrested and condemned to death, and it was only the entreaties of the three Queens, Katharine, Margaret, and Mary, that persuaded Henry to pardon them. The horror of the riots so greatly impressed the people that ever since, 1 May 1517, has been called 'Evil May Day!'

Early in July the Suffolk family went to their seat at Bishop's Hatfield, and on the 16th Mary's eldest daughter was born. She was christened Frances, partly because she was born on St. Francis's day, and partly out of compliment to the King of France. Eventually she married Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and became the mother of Lady Jane Grey. The date of the birth of Mary's second daughter, Eleanor, Countess of Cumberland, is not recorded.

In 1518 an embassy from France came to London to negotiate a marriage between the Dauphin and Princess Mary of England. Notwithstanding the inadequacy of her income, Mary went to Court with all the splendour appropriate to the Queen-Dowager of France, and helped to entertain her late subjects, who were chiefly personal friends. The embassy was apparently

successful, the betrothal of the two children was accomplished, and the French ministers were so charmed with their visit that they 'heartily thanked the King that it had pleased him to visit them with such disport.'

Since on the death of Ferdinand in 1516 Charles had acceded to the throne of Spain, in association with his insane mother, and was in consequence master of Castille, Aragon, Naples, and the Netherlands, and able to check French aggression, Francis had inherited Louis XII.'s desire for acquisition of territory in the north of Italy, and the war between France and Austria continued. Wolsey, who realized the necessity of the balance of power in Europe, and foresaw that the combined forces of Maximilian and his grandson would be too strong for France, sided with the weaker vessel, but at the same time remained on peaceful terms with Charles and the Emperor. As long as the two great Continental powers were at war with each other, Wolsey believed England would be free from all fear of attack.

England's position of aloofness rendered France anxious to make a closer alliance with her, and incited Charles to break the Franco-English league and form a union with the island country himself. Wolsey, however, clung to his policy of supporting weakness against strength, and favoured the plan of a marriage between the Dauphin and Princess Mary. Early in 1519, however, the failing health of Maximilian raised aspirations in ambitious hearts. Francis, Charles, and Henry each hoped to occupy the throne of the Cæsars. Contemporaneously with the idea of his master's elevation to the Empire, Wolsey was inspired with a wish to acquire the Papacy. Therefore, when on the death of Maximilian Charles was elected Emperor, and hinted to Wolsey that 'it would be easy for the King of Spain, who had become the head of the Empire, to raise whomsoever he pleased to the supreme pontificate,' the Cardinal changed his policy, and brought all his diplomacy to bear on severing England's union with France, and forming an alliance with the Empire. Henry, immensely disappointed at losing the Imperial crown, again returned to his dream of 'recovering his inheritance in France,' and so, like his minister, felt that a league with Charles would be of infinite advantage.

Francis, who apprehended that Henry was contemplating a disruption of his union with France, determined to do everything in his power to win him back, and so invited him to a splendid pageant and tournament, which was subsequently known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. By displaying French magnificence, and by adroit flattery, Francis hoped to captivate his powerful neighbour. Charles, of course, heard of the project, and before the final arrangements were made, visited England, and presented himself as a suitor for the infant Princess Mary. On 26 May, 1520, he landed at Dover, where he was met by Henry. His aunt Queen Katharine and the Queen-Duchess Mary received him at Canterbury. Mary, remembering past humiliations, made herself particularly attractive for the tantalization of her suitor of bygone years. She was quite successful in her endeavours, 'for,' says Lord Herbert, 'it was remarked that he beheld her with sorrowful admiration, as if regretful that he had rejected so fair a princess. To his dejection on this account they attributed his refusal to dance, instead of the excuse he pleaded, that dancing was inconsistent with his natural gravity.' It was indeed mortifying to a man of twenty-two to be obliged, for reasons of policy, to offer himself to a child of three, when, had it not been for a failure of diplomacy, he might a few years ago have married the most beautiful princess in Europe. That both princesses bore the same name and style, and that the elder, at that time, would have brought him the same advantages now offered by the younger, accentuated his chagrin. He remained four days, however, and promised to marry the baby princess; at the same time he pointed out to Henry the value of the Austro-Spanish aid in a French invasion, and to Wolsey that in the hands of the Emperor lay the gift of the Papacy.

On the day of Charles's departure, Henry, Katharine, Mary, and the greater part of the Court set out for France.

Francis received them at Guines, where the most gorgeous pageant recorded in history was arranged for their entertainment. As both Queen Claude and Queen Katharine were of a retiring disposition, and not endowed with a striking amount of beauty, Queen Mary, second lady at both Courts, was Queen

of the tournament, and gaily rode about on her palfrey between Francis and Henry.

But all the magnificent display and all the professions of friendship, carried even to the altar-rails, could not change the course of events inaugurated by the ambition of Henry and Wolsey, and the diplomacy of the Emperor. As soon as the splendid pageant was over, and the undying alliance sworn between the two kings, Charles invited the English Court to Gravelines, where, under the auspices of Margaret of Savoy, the tentative agreement between Henry and the Emperor was ratified, and a new treaty signed, by which the latter should help the former to recover his 'inheritance in France,' and England help the Empire with men and money when required. The marriage negotiations between Charles and Princess Mary were concluded, and in order to ensure her undisputed succession, it was agreed that the Duke of Buckingham, who as a descendant of Edward III. was next heir to the throne, should be removed. That the Duke was actually convicted of high treason and executed proves how utterly subservient the peerage was now to the King.

At the outbreak of war between France and Spain in 1521, a secret league was concluded at Calais between the Pope, the Emperor, and Henry, and the Franco-English alliance came to an end.

This change in England's foreign policy affected Mary keenly, her revenues were received from France, and naturally when that country was at war with England they would not be paid. Francis ordered that the money should be sent as usual; but the order was not carried out, and except for a small amount transferred to her in May 1522, she received nothing from France for four years. This still greater diminution of their income obliged the Duke and Duchess to remain almost entirely in the country, and live the quietest life consistent with their position. Mary appears to have passed this dreary time in entertaining her country neighbours, and indulging her taste for French gardening. Henry, too, suffered from the non-payment of Mary's dowry, as thereby he lost the four thousand pounds that he extorted from her every year. This financial difficulty demanded more taxes, and consequently Henry became exceed-

ngly unpopular with his subjects, but though he was discredited at home, he was exalted abroad, for the Pope, in recognition of his book, *The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments*, conferred upon him the glorious title of 'Defender of the Faith.' As a contemporary writer says, 'the King would not exchange that name for all London and twenty miles round.'

His joy was soon clouded by the defeat of France by the Emperor, who thereupon married the Princess of Portugal without even taking the trouble to formally withdraw from his engagement to Princess Mary. Chagrined at Charles's cavalier treatment, Henry withdrew from military enterprise, and centred his thoughts on sport and amusement. It was at this time that Anne Boleyn first dawned upon his consciousness, and soon after he conceived the idea of divorcing Katharine. A petition for a divorce was sent to the Pope, who, being at the time absolutely in the power of Katharine's nephew Charles v., did not grant it, although under different circumstances he might have been persuaded to do so in order to please Henry. While Pope and King were wrangling over this most personal question, and all Europe was in the throes of the Reformation, Mary's fortunes had taken a turn for the better. Louise of Savoy, Regent of France during her son's absence, was glad to make peace with England on any honourable terms that Wolsey might suggest and one of the articles of the pacification was that the Dowager-Queen Mary should receive her full dower in future, and that the arrears of the last four years should be paid in half-yearly instalments of two thousand five hundred crowns. With an income appropriate to their rank and desires, Mary and Suffolk were able to enjoy their exalted position at last. They frequently visited the Court, and although Princess Mary was old enough to take part in most of the functions, the Queen-Dowager of France took precedence in everything. At this time it was not etiquette for kings and queens to dine together, except on state occasions; each had separate tables, and opposite sides of the palace were appropriated to their respective suites. In her early married life Mary had occupied rooms in the King's side of the palace and sat at his table, but as she was the only lady there she afterwards removed to the Queen's side and table, and took her husband with her. But when he was alone at

Court, Suffolk stayed in the King's department. Henry did not pay for the entertainment of his sister and brother-in-law, and on one occasion Suffolk was presented with a bill for six hundred pounds for 'diet of the Queen when at Court.'

It was not likely that Henry would allow his sister to receive her arrears from France without putting in a claim for himself. Of course, he required the four thousand pounds a year that had been promised him ; in addition, he ordered his account with Suffolk to be balanced ; the auditing proved that he and Mary owed the King more than twenty-five thousand pounds. They were graciously permitted to pay in small but ever increasing instalments. Therefore, notwithstanding the unexpected payments from France, they were obliged to return to a certain degree of economy. In the autumn of 1527, Mary's only son, the Earl of Lincoln, died of the plague at Suffolk House, Southwark. Overwhelmed by the blow, the Queen-Duchess retired with her daughter to Westhorp, and seldom afterwards visited her brother's Court. Probably this seclusion was caused as much by her distress at Henry's treatment of Katharine as by mourning for the Earl of Lincoln. Katharine had been kind to Mary in her childhood, and they had been firm friends ever since, and even apart from her affection for her sister-in-law, it was revolting to her that a queen of irreproachable character should be cast aside for an adventuress like Anne Boleyn.

At about this time Mary was menaced with a domestic trouble. Lady Mortimer, Suffolk's first wife, was still alive, and it was rumoured contemplated claiming her position as Duchess of Suffolk. As the validity of Katharine's marriage was questioned, Mary felt some trepidation as to her own fate if Lady Mortimer should press her claim. She therefore hastened to obtain from the Papal Court a solemn confirmation of her marriage, a declaration of its validity, and of the legitimacy, not only of her own children but of her husband's daughter by his second wife, Anne Browne. While Mary was living quietly a semi-invalid at Westhorp, Suffolk was worshipping the rising sun at Greenwich. He supported Henry's wishes with regard to the divorce, did his utmost to gain the favour of the Marchioness of Pembroke, and attended her and the King to Calais, where in splendour and dignity Anne anticipated her

royal estate. Mary's depression increased as the news of the progress of the divorce reached Westthorp. In 1528, Clement VII. consented to a legatine commission for the trial of the case in England, and sent Campeggio to unite with Wolsey. In the summer of 1529 the two legates opened their Court in the hall of Blackfriars; the Queen attended and made her historic plea for justice, which was of no avail. When the case was ended and judgment about to be pronounced, Campeggio announced that the Court was adjourned, that the Pope had summoned the case to Rome. Suffolk appears to have been as angry as the King. 'Now, see I,' he said as he dashed his hand on the table, 'that the old saw is true, that there was never a legate or cardinal that did good to England.' 'Of all men living,' Wolsey answered indignantly, 'you, my Lord Duke, have the least reason to dispraise Cardinals, for if I, a poor Cardinal, had not been, you would not now have a head on your shoulders wherewith to make such a brag in disrepute of us.' With the failure of the legatine court Wolsey fell, and his disgrace was but a prelude to that of Katharine. Henry would not go to Rome, but seized upon Cranmer's idea to let the universities of Europe decide. A favourable verdict was given—some say owing to bribery; the Pope thundered anathemas, and ordered Henry to leave Anne and restore Katharine. But the King was determined to obtain his divorce, and, says J. R. Green, 'despair of other means drove Henry to the bold plan from which he had shrunk at Wolsey's fall. Cromwell was again ready with his suggestion that the King should disavow the Papal jurisdiction, declare himself the head of the Church within his realm, and obtain a divorce from his own Ecclesiastical Courts.' This was in time accomplished, and Henry having finally cast off his wife secretly married Anne Boleyn. Shortly afterwards Cranmer, who had become Archbishop of Canterbury, placed the crown upon her brow.

While these momentous events were taking place in London, the melancholy of Westthorp was enlivened by the arrangements for the marriage of Lady Frances Brandon with the Marquis of Dorset. The wedding was to take place in London, and Mary, despite her grief at the treatment of Katharine, was glad to have an opportunity of visiting her brother again.

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Her last letter to him was apparently written early in 1533.

‘MY MOST DEAREST AND BEST BELOVED BROTHER,—I humbly recommend me to your grace. Sir, so it is that I have been very sick and ill at ease, for which I was fain to send for Master Peter the Fesysyon for to have holpen me of this disease that I have; howbeit, I am rather worse than better, wherefore I trust surely to come to London with my lord. For an’ if I should tarry here I am sure I should never asperge the sickness that I have. Wherefore, Sir, I would be the gladder a great deal to come thither, because I would be glad to see your grace, the which I do think long for to do. For I have been a great while out of your sight, and now I trust I shall not be so long again. For the sight of your grace is the greatest comfort to me that may be possible. No more to your grace at this time, but I pray God to send you your heart’s desire, and surely to the sight of you.—By your loving sister,

‘MARY, THE FRENCH QUEEN’

This letter is characteristic of Mary, as in it she does not mention the dissentient subject of the divorce; and even omits to refer to her daughter’s wedding, as by alluding to an objective other than Henry she might have detracted from his pleasure. She went to town in the following March, and Frances was married to the Marquis of Dorset. At the wedding Eleanor Brandon became engaged to Lord Henry Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland’s son.

Immediately after the wedding Mary and her daughter returned to Westhorp, but Suffolk and his son-in-law and son-in-law elect remained in London for the coronation of Anne Boleyn.

The journey to London did Mary more harm than good, and on 25 June she died. Suffolk was summoned from the coronation festivities, but arrived too late.

On 20 July Mary Tudor, Queen of France and Duchess of Suffolk, was buried with royal state in the Abbey Church of Bury St. Edmunds.

PART III

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA, 'THE QUEEN
OF HEARTS,' ELDEST DAUGHTER OF JAMES I

1596-1662

CHAPTER VIII

Elizabeth's birth. Early life. Frederic of the Palatinate comes to marry her. Death of Prince Henry. Her marriage. Leaves England for Heidelberg.

You meaner beauties of the Night
That poorly satisfie our Eies
More by your number than your light ;
You common people of the Skies,
What are you when the sun shall rise ?

You, curious Chanters of the Wood,
That warble forth Dame Nature's layes,
Thinking your voices understood
By your weak accents ; what's your praise
When Philomell her voice shall raise ?

You Violets, that first appeare,
By your pure purpel mantels knowne,
Like the proud Virgins of the years,
As if the Spring were all your own .
What are you when the Rose is blowne ?

So when my Mistris shall be seene
The form and beauty of her mind,
By Vertue first, then choyce a Queen,
Tell me, if she were not designed
Th' Eclipse and Glory of her kind.

To ELIZABETH, by Sir Henry Wotton.

ONE of the most vivid of life's little ironies recorded in history is the contrast between the baptismal ceremonies of James the First's two eldest children, and their actual importance in the world. Henry Frederick's

christening was a splendid function, attended by ambassadors from half the states of Europe, bearing presents of jewels and gold ; Elizabeth's was ' quietlie and with the less circumstance past owir,' only the English ambassador was present, and he brought no gift. Henry Frederick died on the threshold of manhood, and Elizabeth lived to exercise an immense influence upon the history of her time, and to be the ancestress of the Hanoverian Kings of England, the German Emperors, and the Orleans Princes of the House of Bourbon.

The Lady Elizabeth was born at Falkland Palace on 19 August, 1596, and was baptized at Holyrood Chapel on 28 December of the same year. Queen Elizabeth consented to be one of the godmothers, and allowed the child to be named after her, but she sent no special embassy and gave no present. She was represented at the baptism by her ambassador, George Bowes, who also acted as godfather, and presented the babe at the font. The other godmother was the town of Edinburgh itself, represented by the Provost, who did promise and vow that ' the first dochtour of Scotland ' should be brought up in the reformed religion, and also presented the town's *godbairn* with a gift—a casket overflowing with gold pieces.

When only a few months old, Elizabeth was sent to the Palace of Linlithgow, and put under the care of Lord and Lady Livingston. The former was a Protestant, but the latter had recently become a Roman Catholic, and the Princess's urban sponsor expressed a fear, through the medium of her Council, that Elizabeth's theological opinions might be affected, although she was not quite a year old, and had little intercourse with her guardian's wife. The matter was considered, and the danger avoided by the appointment of Lady Ochiltree, a fervent Protestant, as first lady-in-waiting to the Princess.

Elizabeth had been at Linlithgow nearly seven years when the great change, so long expected, came to the fortunes of the House of Stuart. Queen Elizabeth died, and James VI. of Scotland was proclaimed King of England, as James I.

On 5 April, 1603, James took a tearful farewell of his family in Edinburgh High Street, and started for his new realm. On 3 June, Queen Anne, Prince Henry, Princess Elizabeth, and a large retinue of Scottish nobles, commenced their journey

London-wards. At Berwick, they were met by the members of the English nobility, whom James had appointed to the various offices of the household. Painful scenes ensued as Queen Anne refused to ratify the appointments, except those of Lady Bedford, to be first lady of the bed-chamber, and Lady Kildare to be governess to the little Princess. Elizabeth showed great grief at parting with her former governess, and on the Queen telling her that Lady Kildare would compensate for the loss of Lady Ochiltree, answered, bursting into tears, 'O Madam! nothing can ever make me forget one I have loved so much.' This is the first instance of the very great affection Elizabeth evinced all through her life for her friends. When she cared for them at all, she did so with her whole heart and soul, and asked but little in return; possibly it was this characteristic that caused others to devote themselves, their fortunes and their lives, to her in her hour of need.

At last everything was amicably arranged, and the long procession began its march through England. When Nottinghamshire was reached, Elizabeth saw an English pageant for the first time. Lady Arabella Stuart (daughter of James's uncle, Charles Lennox, and the Countess of Shrewsbury's daughter) came to meet her queen and cousin dressed as Diana, preceded by a troop of huntsmen in green and silver, conducting a herd of tame deer, and accompanied by a band of fair maidens clothed in diaphanous white. The huntsmen and nymphs danced and sang and recited laudatory verses to the Queen. When the entertainment was over, Queen Anne received Lady Arabella graciously, and appointed her state-governess to the Princess Royal—an ancient English custom required that that office should be held by the lady most nearly related to the royal family. Elizabeth loved her newly found cousin dearly, and admired her immensely, and perhaps if she had remained in England longer Arabella might have had a happier fate.

Soon after this pageant Elizabeth and her suite left the Queen's procession and went to Coombe Abbey near Coventry, where they were entertained for a few weeks by Lord and Lady Harington. The visit ended, they continued their journey to Windsor, where the Princess was warmly welcomed by her parents and brothers.

In studying the life of the 'Queen of Hearts,' one finds several striking inconsistencies in her character. That she was loyal, brave, amiable, and possessed great personal charm is conceded by all her biographers. And an exaggerated idea of her place and power, an almost irresponsible prodigality and an unreasoning bigotry seem out of harmony with her natural temperament, and can only be explained by the influence of her environments during her most impressionable years. Her life both at Linlithgow and Coombe Abbey may be regarded as being written in small letters, and her visits to Court in capital. The latter would affect her character far more than the former, and one glance will show the kind of influence the Court of James I. would have on the Princess Royal.

During their comparative poverty the Scottish royal family had anticipated the accession of James to the English throne as an event that would bring unbounded wealth and unrivalled greatness. England was regarded as Canaan flowing with milk and honey, and when Jordan was crossed and the promised land attained, James felt himself to be a truly mighty monarch. Being in some things generous, he gave lavishly to his family and favourites, and although he has been described as 'having a pedant's inability to bring theories into any relation with actual facts,' would impress his daughter with the idea that as King of England he had the power to obtain all things he desired, which power she naturally felt would to some extent devolve on the Princess Royal. Her mother, Queen Anne, had an exalted idea of her own importance, and was naturally frivolous, obstinate, and recklessly extravagant. It is not wonderful, therefore, that a child under such influence and with such parentage grew up to assume unconsciously that whatever she wanted she could have, and whatever might be the importance of others, hers was greater. Her bigotry was probably engendered by her affection for her husband, as it showed itself in connection not with her creed but with his.

Elizabeth's purity and rectitude are shown by the fact that she passed through a Court, said by a modern historian to have been the most corrupt in England since the time of William Rufus, "without being contaminated. For in spite of her beauty and charm no word has ever been breathed against the

honour of the Queen of Hearts, and in many verses written in her praise as much stress is laid on her virtue as on her beauty.

Notwithstanding her capacity for friendship, Elizabeth was rarely influenced through her emotions; she inspired love without reciprocating it, and stimulated deeds of self-sacrifice and devotion which she received in the spirit of a queen rather than that of a woman. The only person she loved passionately was her husband, and the one occasion on which she was dominated by feeling rather than thought was when she believed his life to be in danger. But even he did not guide her.

No woman known to history has been so completely master of her fate as Elizabeth; no Bothwell, Mazarin, nor Potemkin influenced her career. Circumstances were often too strong for her, but human personalities never. Her follies were due to errors of judgment, not to emotional impulse.

The one good and happy influence at Court was that of Prince Henry. Elizabeth loved him with all the hero worship of which she was capable, and he was deeply attached to her. 'He loved her,' says a contemporary, 'so dearly that he desired to see her always by him, and (at least) they did visit each other once in two days.' As they never lived in the same house the friction of daily intercourse was avoided, and their meetings were regarded as treats; even their letters, written in the formal style of the period, show their great affection.

In the first few years of his reign James I., guided by Queen Elizabeth's old foreign minister Salisbury, made peace with Spain and a close defensive alliance with France and the United Provinces; also he formed a plan to marry the Prince of Wales to Henry IV. of France's daughter Henrietta Maria, and the Princess Royal to the Dauphin. When during her first visit to Windsor her father showed Elizabeth a portrait of Prince Louis, and asked if she would like him for a husband, she said nothing, blushed and ran away; but later she told her friend and biographer, Miss Erskine, of the incident, and added, as a great secret, that she thought the Dauphin's 'picture was the prettiest face she had ever seen.' This embarrassment and wish for secrecy seem precocious sentiments for a child of

not quite seven years old, but precocity was evidently one of her characteristics, as at the age of nine she received the King of Denmark at Greenwich 'with courteous gravity.'

During his first stay at Windsor the King held a chapter of the Order of the Garter, at which Prince Henry was installed knight. Elizabeth was allowed to watch the State dinner and attend the reception afterwards. The French Minister, who had been discussing the probable double marriage with James, was presented to her, and was most favourably impressed with her manners and appearance. Very soon after this Elizabeth was sent to Coombe Abbey with Lord and Lady Harington, under whose tutelage she was to pass the next seven years. The parting from her friends again caused her bitter grief. The farewell to Arabella Stuart was sorrowful enough, but the last good-bye to Prince Henry was heartrending; she 'hung about his neck crying, and repeated a hundred times, "I cannot leave my Henry."' At last her arms were unclasped from his neck and her journey to Warwickshire begun.

When the little Princess arrived at Coombe Abbey, her distress was soon forgotten in the pleasure of her new surroundings. The ancient abbey was beautiful and had an atmosphere of mystery and romance, the grounds were extensive and thickly wooded. There was a little wilderness at the end of the park with a broad stream running through it, forming a lake which surrounded an island covered with flowering plants and trees. Both wilderness and island were given to the Princess to be her very own. She stocked them with animals of the smallest kinds from the Isles of Shetland, Jersey, and Man, and with rare birds. She also had her little Court, over which she reigned indeed a queen. Amongst her ladies, who were all about her own age, were the Ladies Dorothy and Lucy Percy (the latter afterwards the notorious Countess of Carlisle), Lady Frances Devereux, daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Essex, Lady Elizabeth Home, Lady Charlotte Bruce, and Mistress Erskine, who wrote the *Memoirs*. Occasionally she held her State functions, and soon after her arrival made her first ceremonious visit to Coventry, where she was received by the mayor and aldermen, and treated to a dinner and sermon, and also greatly admired.

Lord Harington was an excellent guardian for Elizabeth, and, as Miss Erskine remarks, 'His Majesty could not have pitched upon a *properer* tutor for his daughter.' He led his pupils to knowledge by the path of amusement, and caused them to unconsciously assimilate strong religious convictions. Masters were provided for music, dancing, and painting, but in accordance with King James's opinion 'that even a man who was vain and foolish was made more so by learning, and as for women [whom he deemed to be all naturally addicted to vanity], where learning did one good it did twenty harm,' the classics were not taught to the Princess, though it was usual in those days for high-born ladies to read Latin and Greek. Lord Harington's religious teaching laid the foundation of that strong love for her Church which was so prominent a feature throughout Elizabeth's life.

That all Lord Harington's teaching and all Elizabeth's religious fervour did not curb her extravagance and imprudent generosity is shown by the following anecdote told by Miss Erskine. 'For a great while she spent her money long before the next quarter was due—nay sometime before the first week was out. Once in particular I remember she laid it all out within three days after it was paid in, in a heap of trinkets which she had divided amongst us, but chiefly between Lady Lucy Percy and myself. Lord Harington, who had observed it in silence, purposely brought to her some curiosities that were to be sold, one morning that some young ladies of the country were to be presented to her, to whom he told her it would be proper she should make a present of some of those rareties; and to make her distress the greater, presented her a moving petition of a decayed gentleman's family; this obliged her to own her money was all gone.' She asked Lord Harington to advance her next quarter's allowance, and he, with a lecture on thriftlessness, refused, but promised to assist the distressed family himself. 'This,' Miss Erskine continues, 'was a little mortification to the Princess: Lady Lucy Percy and I asked her leave to return what she had so lavishly given us that she might bestow them on the strangers, this she refused with some scorn, telling us she never took back what she had given; but recollecting that our offer proceeded from affection,

she burst out a-crying, and said she would accept of anything from such friends, but that those baubles would be despised by those who did not know and love her, and that if Lady Harington would let her she would rather give some of *her* jewels.'

This incident is characteristic of Elizabeth's temperament. She was always quite ready, even anxious, to sacrifice the future to the present, and far too generous and honourable to withdraw a gift or a promise. No influence was strong enough to prevent foolish actions, but the folly once committed, she always took the most high-minded course that was open to her.

When Elizabeth had been at Coombe about a year, the even tenor of her life was disturbed by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The conspirators arranged to destroy the King, Princes, and Parliament; and at the same time seize Elizabeth, proclaim her Queen, and by marrying her to a Roman Catholic noble, restore England to the Church of Rome. In order to capture the Princess a hunting party was arranged by Sir Everard Digby to meet at Dunchurch near Coombe Abbey, and while most of the county magnates and friends of Lord Harington were chasing the fox, some of Digby's men were to carry off the Princess. The latter part of the plot was discovered by Lord Harington, who hurried Elizabeth, with her friends and household, to Coventry, where the citizens promptly armed themselves to defend her. The result was unexpected by the conspirators; most of them were caught, many suffered for their treachery; the hopes of the Roman Catholic party were ruined, and James seated more firmly than ever on the throne. Elizabeth was very ill and troubled after the shock, and, according to a letter of Lord Harington's, expressed her opinion of the plot in the following words: 'What a Queen should I have been by this means! I had rather have been with my Royal Father in the Parliament House than wear his crown on such condition.'

Elizabeth on reaching her twelfth year was given an establishment of her own, with Lord and Lady Harington still at the head of it, and apartments in the Cock-pit at Whitehall, at Richmond, and at Kew. She was installed in

the Cock-pit just before Christmas 1608, and early in 1609 was present at the reception of the French ambassador Broderie, who was making more definite arrangements anent the double royal marriage suggested six years before. She made even more pleasing an impression on this minister than she had done on his predecessor, as is shown by one of his letters. 'For my lady Princess,' he writes, 'I assure you it will not be her fault if she is not a dauphiness;—not one of the worst fancies she could have;—for she is not at all troubled when it is mentioned to her. She is handsome, graceful, very well bred, and speaks French exceedingly well, much better than her brother.'

From this letter, and from a promise made to her by Prince Henry that he would not agree to a French marriage for himself unless hers was included in the treaty, it appears that Elizabeth was considerably attracted by the prospect of wearing the crown matrimonial of France. But it was not destined to adorn her brow, as the change of French politics consequent on the King of France's death frustrated the intended alliance with England.

During the seven years that Elizabeth was at Coombe Abbey the politics of Europe had considerably changed. Since the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 the wind, that had fanned the flame of Protestant enthusiasm which had established the reformed faith in Germany, had changed and begun to rekindle the fire of Catholic zeal, which desired to restore the power of the Papacy and the Empire. In the early years of the seventeenth century the reaction had fairly set in, and the Church of Rome and the Empire were rapidly regaining their dominion. South Germany and Bavaria had returned to the fold, and the rulers of the Protestant states felt their position perilous. In 1608 a decided step was taken, and a Protestant union formed under the leadership of the Elector Frederic IV. of the Palatinate, which was joined by Henry IV. of France, James I. of England, and the Stadtholder of the Dutch Provinces as a defensive alliance against the Empire and all Catholic powers. A Catholic League on the same lines was formed immediately afterwards under Maximilian of Bavaria, and war was only prevented by the death of the King of France.

Not only was the feeling between Papist and Protestant exceedingly bitter, but the latter were divided amongst themselves, and John George, the Lutheran Elector of Saxony, held as much aloof from Calvinistic Frederic IV. of the Palatinate as he did from Catholic Maximilian of Bavaria. Thus the three parties in Europe became more and more defined, and James I., with his remarkable statecraft, endeavoured to be on friendly terms with them all. Eventually he found himself less competent to deal with the changed aspect of affairs than he had imagined.

Elizabeth's marriage was of immense political importance. Her first suitor was the elderly King of Spain, but dazzling as the prospect was, particularly to the ambitious queen, the wishes of the country, to whom Spain typified religious tyranny, and the persuasion of Prince Henry and Salisbury, prevailed, and James promised that only a Protestant should marry Elizabeth. Only two lives stood between the Princess and the direct heirship to the throne, and unhappy memories of Philip II. of Spain remained with the people.

Now officially grown up, Elizabeth plunged into gaieties of the Court with an appreciation beyond her years; she witnessed masques and pageants and sometimes took part in them, and assisted her brother in his entertainments at St. James's Palace. Being the most beautiful as well as one of the most important princesses in Europe, the fact that Catholic princes were excluded from the ranks did not perceptibly diminish the number of her suitors. Crowns, coronets, and an electoral bonnet were offered for her acceptance; Protestant States as well as their princes being anxious for an alliance with Elizabeth of England.

Frederic, Count Palatine; Gustavus Adolphus, Crown Prince of Sweden; and Maurice of Orange were amongst the most important of her suitors. Prince Maurice was not thought to be of sufficiently exalted rank; Prince Gustavus Adolphus's father was at war with the Queen's brother, the King of Denmark, so by process of elimination Frederic of the Palatinate was chosen.

Frederic V. Count Palatine, and an elector of the Holy Roman Empire, was born at Heidelberg three days before

Elizabeth. His father was Frederic IV. of the Palatinate, who had been the leader of the Protestant Union, and his mother, Louisa Juliana of Nassau, daughter of William the Silent. Left a minor in 1610, Frederic was brought up at Sedan by his mother's sister's husband, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon, a celebrated Huguenot of very decided Calvinistic opinions, and a tendency, even more decided, to intrigue. Frederic naturally grew up to be the staunch Calvinist that both his birth and education tended to make him, but he was also a particularly cultured young man, with a taste for the pleasures of life—fêtes, pageants, and all things sumptuous.

The preliminary arrangements for the marriage were completed in the autumn of 1612, and on 17 September Frederic, with a magnificent suite, and accompanied by his uncles, Stadtholder Maurice and Prince Frederic Henry of Orange, started for England, where his arrival was anticipated by the King, the Prince of Wales, and Elizabeth, with pleasure, the Queen alone disliking the choice of a prince whose rank she did not consider worthy of the Princess Royal, whom in derision she is said to have called 'Frau Palsgrave.' She failed to realize that as one of the seven electors of the Emperor, and head of the Protestant League, Frederic was a person of importance in Europe. As ruler of the fertile provinces of the Upper and Lower Palatinate, he was a person of unusual wealth and power; and that his only shortcoming was his lack of royal blood.

On the evening of 16 October, 1612, after a long and stormy crossing, the Elector Palatine arrived at Gravesend, where he was met by Sir Lewis Lucknor, the Master of the Ceremonies. On the 18th the Duke of Lennox came with the King's barges, which were to escort the Prince up the river to Whitehall. In spite of the cold Frederic opened all the windows of his saloon in order that the Londoners, who crowded banks and bridges, might see him. He was welcomed at Whitehall watergate by Prince Charles, who conducted him to the banqueting room, where the royal family were assembled to receive him. The Elector had arrived a day or two earlier than he had expected, and his wardrobe had not kept pace with him, consequently the unfortunate young man had to face his prospective bride and her royal relations in his travelling suit. His personal appear-

ance—he was dark, slim, and graceful—and his charming manners quite compensated for any sartorial deficiencies, and ‘he most happily deceived good men’s doubts and ill men’s expectations.’

Frederic made an excellent impression on every one ; even the Queen was mollified by his agreeable manners and pleasing appearance, and Elizabeth fell in love with him at first sight, even as he did with her.

Although a manly youth, he preferred whispering sweet nothings into his *fiancé’s* ear to all the sports provided for him by the King and Prince of Wales. That this great affection of Frederic’s for Elizabeth had consequence less satisfactory than the romantic would expect true love to have will be seen hereafter.

Essex House and apartments at Whitehall and St. James’s were given to the Elector for his residences during his visit, and he was treated as a member of the royal family. Gorgeous pageants, tournaments, and plays were given in his honour, ‘and all went merry as a marriage-bell’—till suddenly, amidst the sounds of revelry, a tragic note was struck ; the Prince of Wales, who had been ailing for some time, became dangerously ill, and on 25 October took to his bed with typhoid fever. On 1 November he rallied sufficiently to be visited by his family and the Elector, but afterwards grew rapidly worse. The disease was pronounced infectious, and his friends and relations were forbidden the room. Elizabeth made several attempts, disguised, to see him, but was discovered and sent back each time. On 6 November Prince Henry died, some thought by poison. His last conscious words were, ‘Where is my dear sister?’

Elizabeth’s grief was profound, and Frederic was allowed to try and comfort her, and thus their affections grew.

The national mourning naturally postponed the wedding, and in certain quarters it was thought that now Elizabeth was the second heir of Great Britain, the marriage would not take place at all. Frederic therefore pressed for an early date ; and eventually the betrothal ceremony was fixed for 27 December. On that day, amidst a Court half in mourning, assembled in the banqueting hall at Whitehall, Elizabeth, clad in black

satin and silver, plighted her troth to Frederic, arrayed in purple and velvet and gold. The relations of the Prince and Princess were in no way altered by their betrothal, the only definite result being that any uncertainty anent the consummation of the marriage was at an end.

As the affairs of the Palatinate were unsettled, Frederic petitioned the King to arrange an early date for the marriage : he gained his point after much persuasion, and the ceremony was fixed for Shrove Tuesday, 14 February. The banns were published in Whitehall Chapel on three Sundays, and on the 7th, just a week before the wedding, Prince Frederic, by the grace of God, 'the high and mighty Count Palatine of the Rhine, Arch-server of the Holy Roman Empire,' was with great solemnity installed a Knight of the Garter ; he wore the 'George' that years before Elizabeth had given to Prince Henry. At last the wedding day dawned, and amid all possible pomp and circumstance the marriage was solemnized. The King was magnificent in six thousand pounds' worth of jewels, the Queen 'most gloriously adorned' with two-thirds of that amount, the bride dressed in white satin embroidered with jewels, wore a gold coronet glittering with diamonds, pendants of pearls and diamonds mingled with her long dark hair. Her train was carried by sixteen white-robed maidens, corresponding in their number to her years. Frederic was gorgeous in cloth of silver resplendent with diamonds, and wore the insignia of the Order of the Garter with the jewelled 'George.' He was followed by sixteen unmarried peers. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the ceremony, and the Bishop of Bath preached the sermon at this the first royal wedding celebrated according to the rite of the Church of England. After the wedding was over there was a great State dinner at the Palace, followed by a masque. Every college, guild, and society in London arranged some masque, pageant, or display in honour of the bride and bridegroom, and the panegyrical poems were actually innumerable. The festivities continued till the Court was weary, and, worse, the Exchequer exhausted, so it became expedient for the Elector and Electress to fix an early date for their departure to their own country. The Princess's household, with Mistress Anne Dudley as first lady, was arranged.

Schomberg, who was in love with Anne Dudley, and majordomo to both Elector and Electress, put everything in order, and on 10 April the bride and bridegroom started on their long journey homewards. Accompanied by the King, Queen, and Prince Charles, they embarked on a gay vessel and sailed down the Thames towards Margate. They stopped at Rochester, and were entertained at the Bishop's palace. Next morning they reviewed the ships in the dockyard, and in the afternoon the parting between the Princess and her parents took place. The King blessed his daughter, and commanded her to communicate in no church but her own. The Queen was so overcome that she had to be carried from the presence of her weeping daughter, and when every one's emotion was strung up to the highest pitch, and the distressed bridegroom was anxious to do anything in his power to console his sobbing bride and her parents, King James asked him to solemnly ratify his promise that Elizabeth should retain her status as Princess Royal of Great Britain, and so take precedence of her husband and all other German princes—a promise which, made naturally enough under the trying circumstances, had disastrous consequences.

The Prince and Princess proceeded to Margate, and some of the Prince's escort, with the two Princes of Orange, crossed at once in order to be able to welcome their guests in Holland. Contrary winds delayed the Palsgraves in their departure for a few days, but on 26 April they and the ever faithful Haringtons, who came at their own expense, boarded the flagship *Royal Prince*, which was commanded by the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham (Howard of Effingham, of Armada fame). Thirteen large ships and a quantity of small vessels, carrying the six hundred and seventy persons who made up the Elector and Electress's retinue, formed themselves into a crescent behind the flagship. Thus, in great magnificence, Elizabeth, first Princess Royal of Great Britain, left her own land, not to return for nearly fifty years. And in those years she was destined to suffer disasters far greater than most women, even princesses, are called upon to bear.

On the 23rd the Royal fleet neared Flushing, and was met by a boat bearing the Stadtholder Prince Maurice and

his brother Frederic Henry of Nassau, who, boarding the *Royal Prince*, welcomed the bride and bridegroom. Next day Elizabeth and her husband landed at Flushing, amidst the thunder of cannon and the cheers of the people, and *walked* to the house prepared for them. This '*nobel* behaviour' quite won the hearts of the Dutch, who alone in the Palsgraves' adversity held out a hand of help to them.

At The Hague they were received with the greatest honour, and many entertainments were given for their pleasure. Elizabeth made the acquaintance whilst there of her cousins of Brunswick, some of whom were to play important parts in her later life.

On several occasions during the journey to Heidelberg Frederic was obliged to leave his wife on matters of business, but he always flew back on the 'wings of love' at the earliest opportunity. During these absences Elizabeth was left in charge of her uncles-in-law, the two Princes of Nassau.

At every town through which she passed, whether with or without Frederic, she was received with enthusiasm and entertained lavishly, also she gave presents with her usual generosity to her entertainers. At Bonn, where she was met by the Elector of Brandenburg, the Dutch princes left her, and Frederic, having sent a flotilla of gaily ornamented barges down the Rhine to fetch her, she continued her journey by water. Frederic rejoined her before the Palatinate was reached, and they were both joyfully welcomed by their subjects at Gaulsheim, the first town in their domain.

The English Commissioners now prepared to leave their Princess, as with her arrival at her husband's country their commission ended. Their departure placed Elizabeth in a most trying situation, as her treasurer, Cecil, had paid for all the presents that she had given to those who had entertained her on her journey. Not wishing to diminish her gifts now that she was in her own country, and still less to ask her husband for money, she chose to borrow the required funds from Jacob Herderet, her jeweller, which indiscreet act proved more unfortunate for the lender than the receiver, though from that day the Princess was never free from debt.

At Frankenthal, the chief of her dower towns, Frederic

again left her in order to make all arrangements for her reception at Heidelberg, and to meet her outside the city at the head of his nobles.

Elizabeth reached the outskirts of Heidelberg on the morning of 7 June, in a close carriage, and followed by her suite. Frederic, with his regent, John, Duke of Deuxponts, and his brother, Louis Philip, Duke of Zimmern, hurried ahead of the nobles to meet the Electress. On reaching her carriage Frederic dismounted and opened the door ; immediately Elizabeth sprang out and flung herself into his arms. After the two princes and the principal nobles had been presented to her, she entered a high carriage with a cloth-of-gold canopy and open sides ; the Elector remounted his horse and rode just in front. Thus led, the united procession of the Prince and Princess Palatine passed through the capital of their dominions amid the firing of cannon, the clashing of bands, and the acclamations of their people. At last the Castle was reached, and Frederic helping his 'Royal treasure' from her carriage, presented her to his mother, who had come to the door to meet them. After the two Electresses had embraced with much affection, Frederic, in accordance with an ancient custom of the country, took his wife in his arms, and lifted her over the threshold of her new home.

CHAPTER IX

Life at Heidelberg. Small quarrels. Birth of Henry Frederic. Birth of Charles Louis. State of Bohemia. Birth of Elizabeth. Bohemian Crown offered to Frederic. Leaves Heidelberg for Prague. Crowned.

ELIZABETH'S life in her new country began very pleasantly, resembling that of a beautiful princess in a fairy tale. Frederic did everything in his power to make her happy, her *amour propre* was gratified by the love and admiration of her people, her love of splendour by the gorgeous palace and the magnificent pageants frequently given in her honour, and her passion for sport satisfied by the excellent hunting in the environs of Heidelberg. By her enthusiasm for the chase, she gained for herself the title of 'Diana of the Rhine.' Her daring horsemanship amazed the German courtiers, and on one occasion she still further astonished them by shooting with her cross-bow twelve deer and one stag. Quadrupeds, however, were not the only victims of her ardour. Frederic was badly thrown, and the Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel fell and broke her arm.

Shortly after the wedding festivities were over, the English peers who had come to see their Princess established in her dignities and dower lands left, and a little later the Haringtons went home, and Elizabeth was left with no one to rely upon but her husband and Count Schomberg. Frederic's counsel would naturally coincide with his bride's inclination, so the task of monitor fell to the Count. Colonel Count Schomberg had been with Frederic for years, and was the *Deus ex machina* of his Court. He had accompanied the Elector to England, and King James, impressed with his capability and honesty, had made him English agent at the Palatine Court. On his return to

Heidelberg, therefore, he both guarded Elizabeth's interests and managed Frederic's affairs. That he found the situation difficult is shown by one of his letters to King James: 'Your Majesty must consider,' he wrote, 'that I have a young prince and princess, an administrator, mother-in-law, sisters, aunts, and every one with their train; every one wishes to govern, every one believes that I do more for one than another.'

The first discord in the domestic harmony was caused by the hundred English adventurers who had followed Elizabeth to Heidelberg; they constantly petitioned the Princess for posts at Court, which she often gave, quarrelled with the Germans, and worst of all, expected to be fed and lodged at the expense of the Court and the citizens. The officials of the Court complained to Elizabeth, who instructed her *maitre d'hôtel* to remedy the evil. He failed, and Schomberg was commanded to take the matter in hand. His first act was to issue an order forbidding any English not attached to Elizabeth's household to enter the Palace or remain in the city without showing good reason for so doing. This drastic measure naturally caused strife between the English and German courtiers, and constant disputes at meals were only prevented by separate dining-tables being provided for each nationality, and by the strictest injunctions against quarrelling. The unpleasant situation was brought about entirely by Elizabeth's well-known lavish generosity. The rapacious throng that followed her were perfectly aware that she would give them whatever they asked. 'Every day people beg of Madame,' Schomberg wrote to a friend, 'and right or wrong she cannot refuse, however much she may be inconvenienced; but I hope I may remedy this, although it will only make me the more hated. But for me, Madame had been in debt more than four thousand pounds—everybody robs her, even to the clothes and jewels she wears; and she gives, not of herself through liberality, but through importunities, complaints, and tears.'

The next heart-burnings arose from the question of precedence; some discontent was felt by the Dowager-Electress and the German princes, that at the wedding festivities Elizabeth had taken precedence of them and also of the Elector. As she was young, beautiful, and a bride, no definite complaint had been made, but a feeling of dissatisfaction was engendered;

which in due time was given expression. The first person to expostulate against the status taken by Elizabeth was Louisa Juliana. It is not clear on what grounds the Dowager based her claim to precede the wife of the reigning Prince, but it is obvious that she was deeply grieved at being forced into a secondary position. She expressed her opinion so forcibly to her daughter-in-law that their friendship was broken, and the elder lady retired to her dower-house at Kaiserslautern with her daughters.

The departure of Frederic's nearest relatives was but a prelude to the troubles to come. Frederic, realizing the feelings of the German princes on the subject, told Sir Henry Wotton that he could no longer give place to the Princess, as it was against the customs of the country, and that all the other electors and princes thought it strange. Wotton replied that the precedence once given could hardly be withdrawn, and laid stress on the possibility of Elizabeth's accession to the throne of Great Britain. Eventually Schomberg was sent to England to ascertain the opinions of King James and the Parliament. King James insisted that his daughter should give place to no one below the rank of queen, either within or without doors. The lawyers who discussed the case found precedent for the opinions both of the King and of the Elector, and no conclusion was reached. Elizabeth, therefore, found it expedient to refuse all invitations and abstain from appearing in public with her husband, and so avoid the *casus belli*.

Most biographers blame Elizabeth for clinging so tenaciously to her royal rank, but it must be remembered that she was not only Princess Royal but second heir to the throne of Great Britain. The Prince of Wales was delicate, and many Englishmen regarded Elizabeth as their future queen; this view was clearly expressed in Parliament when her eldest son was born, and it is quite probable that her firmness with regard to precedence was caused by a feeling of loyalty for the honour of England rather than by a wish for her own aggrandizement. But whatever its cause, this longing for pre-eminence had far-reaching and disastrous consequences; if Frederic could gain a crown all question of precedence would be settled for ever, and when a kingdom was offered to him one of his strongest reasons

for accepting it was that by so doing he would give his Princess her heart's desire.

On 2 January, 1614, Elizabeth's eldest son was born. The news of the event was received with the greatest possible joy both in the Palatinate and in England. King James was so pleased at the arrival of his first grandson that he gave Elizabeth, unasked, an additional allowance of two thousand pounds a year, 'out of regard to her pre-eminent virtues, and as an open testimony of his love for her and delight in the birth of her son.' A Bill was passed in Parliament by which the new Prince Palatine was naturalized, given all the privileges of an English subject, and pronounced 'true and lawful heir to the English throne after his mother.' The baby was baptized 'Henry Frederic,' after the late Prince of Wales. King James was, by proxy, one of the godfathers, and Louisa Juliana, *in propria persona*, one of the godmothers, having put aside her wrath for the time being.

Frederic celebrated his eighteenth birthday, which was also his legal majority, on 16 August, and took the government of his dominions into his own hands; he was naturally influenced by his ministers, Christian of Anhalt, the Dhonas, Solm, and Camerarius, all of whom were bigoted Calvinists, and indifferent statesmen.

The three religious parties of Europe still flourished, and were as antagonistic as they were ten years earlier. Lutherans and Calvinists were openly hostile to Catholics and covertly to each other. Two courses were open to Frederic. The first and safest being to propitiate the Lutheran princes and unite them with the Calvinists in a defensive coalition against the Catholic powers; the second and more dangerous to form an aggressive alliance for the aggrandizement of the Calvinists and the Protestant Union. Frederic chose the latter course; his ministers had practically pledged the Palatinate Government to uphold the democratic Calvinistic party in opposition to the more conservative Lutheran one, and the Elector, an ardent Calvinist himself, was nothing loath to redeem the pledge.

Frederic and Elizabeth were now just eighteen, and more interested in their child, their hunting, and the gaieties of their Court, than in the troubled politics of Europe; as the years went by Frederic was drawn by his Cabinet into a course of

intrigue which he fondly believed to be Machiavellian statecraft, but which was really a short-sighted and weak policy, which subsequently led to such unspeakable disaster.

Early in 1651 Frederic attended the Diet at Heilbrunn, where he took his place as head of the Protestant Union, and realized for the first time that upon him devolved the dangerous and difficult office of leader of the Protestants of Germany. During one of the meetings of the Diet he was seized with a violent attack of ague; in spite of persuasion he bravely refused to leave the assembly till the sitting was over, or to see a doctor till he had made his will and expressed his wishes concerning the welfare of the Princess. The illness was severe, and though he soon recovered sufficiently to return to Heidelberg, it left him in a melancholy frame of mind and with a great distaste for society.

Elizabeth gives her views about him and the conduct of his mother in a letter to her friend Winwood, secretary to her father:—

‘SIR,—The Elector sending this bearer to his Majesty, I was desirous to let you understand something of his state, as of this place. Himself, at this last assembly, got an ague, which, though it hath held him not long, yet hath it made him weak and look very ill. Since his fits left him, he is very heavy, and so extremely melancholy, as I never saw in my life such an alteration in any. I cannot tell what to say to it, but I think he hath so much business at this time as troubles his mind too much. If I may say truth, I think there is some that doth trouble him too much, for I find they desire he should bring me to be all Dutch, and to their fashions, which I neither have been bred to, nor is necessary in every thing I should follow, neither will I do it, for I find there *is* that would set me in a lower rank than them that have gone before me; which I think they do the Prince wrong in putting in his head at the time when he is but too melancholy.’

It seems from this letter that Frederic had other reasons for melancholy than ague. His wife and mother were still at variance anent precedence, and the prevalence of English or German customs, and they took opposite sides on the momentous question, so important to the Palatinate, of European

peace or war. Elizabeth longed for war and the hopes hidden behind it. Louisa Juliana sternly argued for peace.

The conflicting opinions of the various members of his family and Court which so distressed Frederic did not seriously interfere with Elizabeth's happiness. She was devoted to her husband in spite of his moroseness, and he always adored her. Schomberg in a letter gives a brief account of their domestic happiness. 'Their Highnesses, thank God, are very well, love each other better than ever; and Madame is at this moment playing with and caressing the little Prince.'

In the spring of 1615 Frederic had an English garden made for his wife, planned to resemble as nearly as possible that of Coombe Abbey. It was entered through a triumphal arch, bearing the inscription, 'Fredericus v. Elizabetae conjugiariss. A.D. MDCXV. F.E.' In the middle of this garden there was a half-ruined ancient turret, once the house of a prophetess, 'who told fortunes in a holy manner,' and had been so much venerated by the people that her abode was allowed to remain, incongruous though it was amongst English trees and flowers, lawns and gravel paths.

Elizabeth derived great pleasure from her love of animals, which seems to have increased with the years. Monkeys were brought with the babies to her room in the morning, and by their gentle play enlivened the dull hours before dressing. Mistress Elizabeth Apsley, a Court lady, she describes herself as 'chief gouvernante to all the monkeys and dogs,' gives an account of the fascinating menagerie in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, who had presented the Electress with two young monkeys.

'Her Highness is very well,' she writes, 'and takes great delight in those fine monkeys you sent hither, which came very well, and now are grown so proud that they will come to nobody but her Highness, who hath them in her bed every morning; and the little Prince, he is so fond of them that he says he desires nothing but such monkeys of his own. They be as envious as they be pretty, for the old one of that kind, which her Highness had when your Lordship was here, will not be acquainted with his countrymen, by no means; they do make very good sport, and her Highness is very merry;

you could have sent nothing that would have been more pleasing.'

But Elizabeth did not devote all her time to these trivial amusements. She loved literature, and encouraged writing and wrote, chiefly on religious subjects and prayers, herself. During the first years of her residence in Heidelberg she learnt six languages, and before she left she could converse fluently in English, French, Italian, German, Dutch, and Latin.

In June 1615 the Elector and Electress started on a tour of their dominions: they visited Frankenthal, where a new palace was being built for Elizabeth, and while she remained there Frederic went to Worms in order to preside at the Senate; next they proceeded to the Upper Palatinate, five days' journey from Heidelberg, and stayed at Amberg for ten days, Elizabeth as usual winning the hearts of the people.

On Christmas Eve of the same year Elizabeth's second son, Charles Louis, was born, and soon afterwards Lady Harington came back to fill the post of the first lady, left vacant by the death of the Countess Schomberg.

In the spring of 1618 the outlook of Elizabeth's life was considerably changed by a startling event that occurred at Prague on 23 May, by which King Ferdinand was dethroned, and the great rebellion of the Bohemian Protestants against the Empire and the Church inaugurated. In this struggle between Catholics and Protestants, the recalcitrant States and the Empire, was involved the destiny of the Palatine branch of the house of Wittelbach, and the Electress's interest in the course of events was intense.

During the six years that had passed so happily at Heidelberg, the affairs of Europe had been moving rapidly towards a crisis, and now the catastrophe occurred which brought matters to an extremity, and war broke out, Bohemia being the battle-ground.

From earliest times Bohemia had been harried by either internecine or international warfare, but when King Charles assumed the imperial purple in 1347 the distracted country hoped for peace. This hope was unfulfilled however, for half a century later Bohemia became the battle-ground of conflicting religious parties, and fires of fanaticism literally blazed through-

out the land. When Matthias became Emperor in 1612 he gave the government of Bohemia to his nephew and heir, Ferdinand of Styria, a rigid Roman Catholic, whose policy was repugnant to the Protestant princes. A rebellion of the Bohemians under Count von Thurn led to the deposition of Ferdinand and the formation of a republic. After a year of unsuccessful war the Bohemians, discontented with the oligarchy, like the Israelites of old desired a king, and proceeded to choose one of the Protestant princes for that office.

Elizabeth's life had been more exciting since the outburst of war, and opinions held by some that the Bohemians would soon wish for a king, and that Frederic would be chosen, raised her ever-present hope of royalty to the highest pitch. In the autumn of 1618 she was invited to visit the Empress at Ratisbon and accepted with gratification, but before the date of departure arrived was told by an Englishman, Captain Bell, that the invitation was a ruse to get her and her son into the Empress's power, and that upon arriving at Ratisbon they would both be murdered. The visit was consequently put off and Bell liberally rewarded, and regarded both in Heidelberg and London as the preserver of Elizabeth's life.

Shortly after this thrilling episode the Electress's attention was withdrawn from all extraneous affairs by the birth of her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, on 18 November, 1618. In the following March Queen Anne of England died, and although Elizabeth had seen but little of her mother, her grief appears from her letters to have been deep and sincere. A day or two later, on 20 March, the whole aspect of European politics was altered by the death of the Emperor Matthias. Elizabeth felt a change come o'er the spirit of her dream, and wondered, as did also the Bohemian insurgents, who next would be called upon to wear the purple.

Ferdinand was in Vienna, where Thurn's besieging army had just been driven, when he heard of his uncle's death. Without a moment's delay he hurried to Frankfurt to attend the meeting of the College of Electors and to do his utmost to get elected Emperor. The Protestant princes were naturally averse to his election; and when the Assembly met on 28

August, John George of Saxony had a plan by which the election could be indefinitely delayed. As there was no King of Bohemia, he said the College was incomplete and the election could be postponed on that score. Frederic of the Palatinate did not trust the Elector of Saxony, and preferred some plan of his own. Argument ensued, and John George lost his temper, and voted for the Archduke of Styria. Frederic, not wishing to be the only dissentient, also voted for Ferdinand, albeit he, Frederic, was contemplating the annexation of the Archduke's kingdom.

Ferdinand elected Emperor, the Bohemian nobles felt that they must hasten to choose their king; the choice lay between John George and Frederic. The Elector of Saxony, as the older and abler man, was asked first; upon his refusing, because, as he said, he had all he wanted and did not wish to lose it, they sent a deputation to the Elector Palatine asking his acceptance of the precarious throne. Frederic was at Amberg when he received the invitation; he would not give a definite answer, but asked for time to consider the matter and to consult his wife, to whom also the letter from the States of Bohemia was addressed. His request was readily granted, as Elizabeth's desire for regality was well known. Frederic sent Elizabeth the news of his election post-haste, and followed his letter in person as swiftly as he could. Heidelberg was seething with excitement when he arrived. Elizabeth brimming with joy at the prospect of a crown, and Louisa Juliana bitterly opposed to it, and more than ever the Elector found himself between Scylla and Charybdis personified by his wife and mother. The former entreated him with emotion to accept the proffered throne, and the latter tearfully implored him to refuse it. He received conflicting advice too from other quarters, the Princes of the Union warned him of the danger of usurpation, and offered no assistance while Maurice of Orange, the long-winded and bigoted Scultetus, Christian of Anhalt, and most of his Cabinet urged him to take the offered kingdom, and pointed out that to desert the Bohemians now would be base treachery. The Duc de Bouillon wisely suggested that Frederic should adhere to the golden mean by making an open alliance with the Bohemians and giving them all

possible help, but by refusing the crown avoid making the Protestant princes jealous. James I. was written to for advice and approbation. While awaiting his reply Frederic hesitated and wept much; Elizabeth, annoyed at his weakness and irresolution, taunted him with cowardice, asking why he had married a king's daughter if he dreaded to be a king, and further remarked that she would part with her jewels and endure the utmost deprivation rather than relinquish such a righteous cause and deprive her children of a kingdom.

One day it occurred to Scultetus that the acquisition of the kingdom of Bohemia was a divine mission, and that the Elector was greatly blessed in being called to so high a purpose. Frederic, like St. Olaf, was to enforce his religion by power of the sword; even the most optimistic did not doubt that the sword would be the most powerful factor in establishing a Calvinistic monarchy in Bohemia. Once convinced of the divine origin of his plans Frederic felt more contented, and wrote to the Duke of Bouillon, who had suggested not accepting the crown, saying that his wish to accept it 'did not proceed from any ambitious desire to aggrandize his house; but that his only end was to serve God and his Church . . . it was a Divine call which he ought not to neglect'; and also to the Duke of Buckingham asking for his influence with King James on behalf of the Bohemian scheme, and ending his letter with the following high-flown sentiment, 'my only aim in this affair is to employ all that I have in this world for the service of Him who has given it to me.' Before James's answer arrived or Frederic had quite made up his mind, the Bohemian delegates returned and explained that delay was prejudicial to their cause, and that if he would not decide at once they must proceed to another election. Frederic had intended to await his powerful father-in-law's reply before taking the final step, but this veiled threat of the delegates made him realize how eager he was for a crown; he therefore signed a paper pledging himself to meet the Bohemian ambassadors on the confines of their kingdom, and, if the conditions seemed suitable, accept the crown and proceed to Prague immediately.

Elizabeth was rejoiced at Frederic's decision. The height of her ambition was achieved; she was to be a queen at last,

and the question of precedence would not vex her any more. But her hopes increased with her potentialities. A kingdom gained, an Empire did not seem impossible; Frederic, the most puissant prince in Europe, holding two electoral votes, and head of the Protestant Union, certainly seemed the most fit person to wear the Imperial diadem. There was much satisfaction, too, in the thought that she and her husband would be the most powerful champions of their beloved religion, and probably the means of its propagation and acceptance throughout Europe.

The news of Frederic's acceptance of the Bohemian crown was received by the people of England and Holland with the utmost gratification; but King James was displeased, and refused to promise help in the case of war or, when the coronation was accomplished, to acknowledge the regality of his son-in-law and daughter. He realized, as Frederic did not, that in taking another prince's country the Elector Palatine was attacking the foundations on which the institutions of his time rested. James was not even neutral—he was so eager to marry the Prince of Wales to the Infanta of Spain that he clung firmly to his union with that country even though it was allied with his son-in-law's arch-enemy the Emperor Ferdinand. But nothing daunted the enthusiasm of Frederic and Elizabeth—particularly that of Elizabeth. They made their preparations as quickly as possible; the Duke of Deuxponts was to take charge of the civil, and Count John of Nassau of the military, affairs of the Palatinate, and Louisa Juliana was to remain at Heidelberg and take charge of the two youngest children, Charles Louis and Elizabeth. Most of the Calvinistic princes and princesses of Germany came to congratulate the King and Queen elect and to wish them good-bye.

27 September was the date chosen for their departure, and the preceding day, which was Sunday, was entirely devoted to religious observances. On the Monday morning at eight o'clock they wished their subjects farewell. The scene was so emotional that it is better described by an eyewitness, the Rev. John Harrison: 'These princely personages with their train, in their coaches, and some on horses and wagons, without any vain pomp or ostentation, but rather with tears in their eyes lifted up to heaven, quietly departed—and no heart but

would have been ravished to have seen the sweet demeanour of that great lady at her departure, the tears trickling down her cheeks, so mild, courteous, and affable (yet with a princely reservation so well becoming so great a majesty) like another Queen Elizabeth, revived also again in her the only Phœnix of the world.'

When this painful parting was over, Frederic and Elizabeth with their Court commenced their journey southwards. On 4 October they reached Amberg, where they were met by an envoy from Ferdinand, who endeavoured to dissuade Frederic from his enterprise. But the Elector remained firm, saying that his word was pledged to the Bohemians, and he would keep faith with them. On 13 October the procession arrived at Waldsassen, where the Bohemian ambassadors met them, also Baron Dhona, who had hurried from England with messages of disapproval from the King and of enthusiasm from the people.

The deputies assured their King elect and his council that not only the Protestants but the Catholics of Bohemia were anxious to throw off the Imperial yoke and swear allegiance to a Calvinist king. The formal audience took place on 16 October, and Frederic, supported by his son, his brother, and Christian of Anhalt, received the deputies from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in the castle of Waldsassen. Count von Schlich, the Bohemian minister, pronounced the deposition of Ferdinand and the election of Frederic as King of Bohemia, Marquis of Moravia and Lusatia, Duke of Silesia, etc., and requested him to accept those titles. Frederic replied that he was convinced that as he had not aspired to the election it proceeded from God, and he accepted it with a pledge to govern in right and equity, as became a Christian prince. His new subjects thereupon kissed his hand, and the hands of his son and brother, and then asked to be presented to their Queen. Elizabeth received them graciously, hardly hiding her joy that her dream of royalty was fulfilled. She was saluted as a Queen, and she acted the part to perfection and charmed the Bohemian deputies. Baron Dupa, their spokesman, thanked her in French for having influenced Frederic to accept the Crown. She replied in the same tongue. 'Sir, what I have done for the honour of God and

our common religion has been well intended, and in future it shall never lack my favour and goodwill.'

The ceremony ended, the King, Queen, Court, and deputies proceeded to church, where prayers were read and a sermon preached, the text being the whole of the Twentieth Psalm. In the light of the knowledge of future events the supplicatory first verse seems to be the only appropriate one! The next event was dinner, when the twenty-one deputies sat at the same table as the King and Queen, who conversed freely with them. After dinner the letters accepting his election and confirming the rights and privileges of his new subjects were signed by the King and delivered by the Grand Master the Count de Solms to the deputies, who presently took their leave.

The next day, 17 October, 1619, the King and Queen entered into their kingdom. Each of the noblemen through whose estates they passed entertained them sumptuously, and each town received them with acclamation, ringing of bells and firing of cannon.

On 21 October Prague was reached, and the Palatines proceeded to the Parc d'Etoile or Thiergarten, about a mile from the city, where they were received by the Bohemian nobles, headed by Count Falkenberg, the Grand Chamberlain, who welcomed the King and Queen in the language of the country. Frederic replied fluently in the same tongue, to the 'great entertainment of the people.' Homage having been paid to the King and Queen, they proceeded, accompanied by their courtiers old and new, towards their capital. Frederic left his place by Elizabeth's side and mounted his charger. The Queen sat alone in her carriage of purple and gold. The beauty of her features, her ivory complexion and dark hair, excited the keenest admiration in the hearts of her Czech subjects. As the royal party approached the city wall a curious company came towards them from the Strathoff (a fortress through which no king might pass without permission of the citizens), which as they drew nearer proved to be a band of Taborites armed with scythes, flails, hatchets, and tabards, and carrying attached to their belts pewter cups, pots, and flagons, which last were symbols of Huss's Calixtine dogma. The colonel of this strange regiment approached Frederic and made an eloquent oration.

When it was finished the whole company of Taborites cheered vociferously, clashed their weapons and acknowledged Frederic and Elizabeth as their sovereigns. The ceremony ended, the Taborites surrounded the royal party and escorted them through the fortress into the city. Soldiers lined the streets and citizens crowded behind them, and cheer after cheer went up for the new King and Queen, who represented the delivery from tyranny and the establishment of liberty.

Before taking possession of the Edissa, the ancient Royal Palace of Prague, Frederic and Elizabeth went to a thanksgiving service at the even more ancient cathedral of St. Viet, where, in spite of the statues and pictures around him, Scultetus preached the most discreet and tolerant sermon he had ever enunciated. Frederic was correspondingly intolerant and indiscreet, declaring that he would demolish the 'graven images' and the pictures at the earliest opportunity. Elizabeth, apparently not wishing to be outdone in zeal, expressed her disapproval of the statues on the bridge over the river Moldau, which separated the old town from the new, and her intention not to cross it again till they were destroyed. The people of Prague were very proud of their city and art treasures, particularly of the statues of the national saints and worthies on the bridge : both Catholics and Lutherans revered statues and pictures in the churches, and the iconoclastic sentiments of the King and Queen, even before their coronation, caused a wave of discontent to pass over the people. Elizabeth's personal charm and gracious manner, however, restored for a time the popularity which the indiscreet remarks had imperilled.

4 November was the day chosen for Frederic's coronation, and as Scultetus had conscientious scruples anent the rite of unction, John Cyril, the Administrator of the College of Hussites, performed the ceremony amidst the enthusiastic applause of the people. Three days later Elizabeth was crowned. In accordance with Bohemian custom, when she approached the throne near the altar where she would receive the crown, the King advanced towards the administrator and requested him to bless the Queen Consort and decorate her with the crown royal. John Cyril then anointed the Queen, placed the sceptre in her hand

and the crown of St. Elizabeth upon her head, the *Te Deum* was sung, a long prayer said, and then the Queen was proclaimed. Bells rang, guns were fired, and all the people cheered while Elizabeth of England, Queen of Bohemia, returned to the palace.

CHAPTER X

Birth of Prince Rupert. War with the Emperor. Frederic joins the army. Defeat of the White Mountain. Flight.

THE excitement of the two coronations was hardly over when, on 26 November, a prince was born and subsequently christened Rupert, after the Palatine Emperor. The event was hailed with joy by the Bohemians, and greatly enhanced the popularity of the sovereigns. Shortly afterwards, however, the demolition of the statues and pictures in the cathedral enraged the people, and the commencement of the destruction of the statues on the bridge infuriated them, and a rebellion was only prevented by Count Thurn, who succeeded in persuading the king to rescind his order and then in pacifying the rioters.

On 18 April Frederic requested the Bohemian Parliament to settle the succession on Henry Frederic. At first they demurred, but on Frederic pointing out that should his wife succeed to the English throne he would necessarily be frequently absent from Bohemia, and that the acknowledgment of his son would prevent the misadventures that accrue to an absentee monarch, they decided to grant the request. A tactful and considerate demeanour would have bound the Bohemians to their sovereign with hoops of steel, and, as a war with the most powerful house in Europe was pending, every effort should have been made to win and keep the people's loyalty and affection. But though Frederic was on the whole a liberal ruler, he lessened his popularity by foolishness in small things. French customs were introduced at Court, and Scultetus was ordered, or at least allowed, to preach a most fanatical Calvinism, and to hurl anathemas at the Lutherans and Ultraquists. Elizabeth too, by lack of courtesy of her Court, managed to hurt the feelings of the women of Prague, who wishing to show their loyalty,

brought her a present of sacks of cakes and fancy bread. The Queen received them graciously enough, but the ladies of the Court and the pages gave vent to fits of laughter, the latter putting the rings of bread on their hats and dancing about the hall in them. Even Elizabeth's sympathetic charm could not efface the impression made by the bad manners of the courtiers, and the representatives of the bourgeoisie of Prague retired in anger.

During the spring of 1621, Louisa Juliana and the Electoral princesses came to visit the King and Queen, also several German princes, including the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who was a suitor for the hand of one of Frederic's sisters. The marriage would have taken place at Prague had not the belligerent affairs of Europe prevented it.

Notwithstanding the approaching war philippics from the Emperor and other adversaries, everything was done to keep up an apparent cheerfulness and tranquillity. A contemporary wrote: 'From Prague we only hear that the King was in very good health, always amusing himself with the Queen, the young Prince, and other dukes in the chase, being noways troubled with the proscriptions, imperial, Bavarian, nor Saxon, confiding in his right and just cause.'

While the Court was pursuing its daily round of harmless gaieties, the Emperor was marshalling his forces and Frederic sending his emissaries to the rulers of the Protestant States of Europe in the hope of gaining assistance. The most important of these was King James, from whom on the score of relationship Frederic expected much. He was disappointed, however, as James absolutely refused to go to war on his daughter's behalf, and continued to pursue his policy of arbitration, clinging firmly to the idea of the matrimonial alliance with Spain. The utmost he could be prevailed upon to promise was that he would assist in the defence of the Palatinate should it be attacked. The nobles and people of England took a totally different view of the situation from that of the King and Court, and when Dhona, the Bohemian agent, as a last resource appealed to the bishops, clergy, nobility, and provincial magistrates, the response was immediate and generous. Large sums of money were given, and Ralph Hopton and many other gentle-

men volunteered to fight to the death for their Princess Royal. A regiment was soon formed, which wore her colours of red and white, and which acted as her bodyguard during the most perilous of her adventures. All through her life Elizabeth appealed to the chivalry of young men. Lord Craven left home and country to fight for her, and eventually spent thirty thousand pounds in her cause, and Christian of Brunswick's devotion led to his death. Sir Thomas Roe, who knew her intimately, was one of her most enthusiastic supporters, and with Dhona was raising funds, wrote a tract in favour of the Bohemian cause. The following letter gives an idea of the spirit pervading Elizabeth's champions.

Roe wrote : ' If it shall be yet necessary that I humbly offer up my vows, I do it with all gladness, I am ready to serve your Majesty to death, to poverty, and if that you shall ever please to command, I will be converted to dust and ashes for your Majesty's sake.'

A little later Carleton wrote in his despatch : ' I know not so great a lady in the world, nor ever did, of such natural affection, an obedient daughter, a loving sister, and a tender wife, whose care of her husband doth augment with his misfortunes.'

The English agent in Flanders called her in a despatch : ' A saint among ladies,' ' most incomparable lady of the age,' and adds, ' for her Majesty I will spend the last drop of my blood ; and if my eldest son should refuse to do this like, he should never enjoy one pennyworth of my poor estate.'

Once at a supper party in the Middle Temple, one of the barristers, taking his glass in one hand and his sword in the other, drank the health of the unhappy Queen, then kissing his sword took a solemn oath to live and die in her service. His ardour was contagious, and each man present drank the toast and took the oath.

John George of Saxony was another prince on whom Frederic relied ; but he was offended by the King's ultra-Calvinistic policy, and realized that if he were firmly established on the Bohemian throne he would be the most powerful prince in Europe, and, moreover, would be the possessor of *two* electoral votes, and that, in case of the establishment of a Bohemian

kingdom, the Dukedom of Saxony would be forced into an inferior position. He therefore made a treaty with Maximilian of Bavaria at Mulhausen, in which he promised not to attack the League, and the League agreed, with the sanction of the Pope, not to recover by force lands of Protestant administration, or secularized territories in the northern provinces.

The princes of Brandenburg, Darmstadt, Würtemberg, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, chiefly through jealousy, refused to assist Frederic in his time of need, and Maximilian of Bavaria, Frederic's kinsman, who had previously refused to join the Emperor in the suppression of the Bohemian revolution, now took advantage of Frederic's temerity in usurping the throne and other follies, and putting himself at the head of the army of the League, offered to help Ferdinand on the condition that when war was over Frederic's electorate should be given to him. The only States that promised to aid the King of Bohemia were the United Provinces and Hungary.

On hearing that those upon whom he had relied had deserted his cause, Frederic convened the Diet in order to raise supplies; they were readily voted, but, as usual, almost impossible to collect, and men were not at all anxious to enlist. Some of the nobles offered to provide regiments themselves, and melted their plate for the necessary funds, which, however, were inadequate to support the soldiers for any length of time. Then, when martial excitement and patriotic enthusiasm was at its height among the faithful, the news came that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate.

James was again petitioned; and fearing that Frederic and Elizabeth would lose their hereditary possession, sent an army to help Prince Henry Frederic of Orange, who was commanding the forces that were still loyal to Frederic in the Netherlands, but lessened the value of his bequest by insisting that the allies should only fight to defend the Palatinate, and not attack the Spanish troops. The defence was unavailing, and Spinola subjugated the Palatinate. At the treaty of Ulm, on 3 June, 1620, the princes of the Protestant Union abandoning Prince Frederic Henry agreed that Spinola should remain in the Palatinate, on the condition that they and their territories should be unmolested. Meanwhile, Maximilian and Tilly were

preparing to invade Bohemia. On 23 June they marched into Upper Austria and took Lintz, a town near the Bohemian frontier. Before the end of August all Austria had declared for Ferdinand, whose army, commanded by Bouquoi, joined forces with Maximilian and Tilly, and advanced towards Prague.

Christian of Anhalt, commander-in-chief of the Bohemian army, was not a great general, and failed to inspire the confidence of his underpaid, half-starved soldiers. The other generals, who were antagonistic to each other, spent much time and patience in quarrelling, and Frederic himself, though personally brave when away from home influence, lacked experience. And when the Bohemian army took the field on 28 September, its chances were far less hopeful than the King imagined.

When Frederic started for the front, he entrusted Elizabeth to the care of his own lifeguards. And in order that the government should not suffer or riots take place, he left several loyal officers of state in charge and two regiments to defend the city.

Elizabeth still kept up a cheerful and tranquil demeanour, letting the little gaieties of the Court continue, and doing her best to encourage hope in her subjects. When the situation seemed almost beyond hope she wrote to her brother's old tutor Mr. Murray :—

'Spinola is still in the low Palatinate, fortifying the places he hath taken, and the Union looks on and doth nothing. The King is gone to the army: it is but seven miles hence, and the enemy's army is but two miles beyond them.

'You see we have enough to do, but I hope still well, in spite of all.'

But although thus cheerful to the outer world, she appears to have revealed to her husband the real anxiety that she felt, for he, though constitutionally melancholy, tried his best to cheer her, as the following letter shows :—

'I have got to-day two of your letters. I entreat you not to be melancholy, and to be assured that I love you entirely. I hope God will long preserve us together; but for God's sake, take care of your health; if not out of regard to yourself, at least, for the love of me and of our dear children; and do not give way to

melancholy. I often wish myself with you, but my calling leading me here, I hope you will not on that account think I love you less.'

On reaching the army he wrote and advised her to leave Prague; and the history of the next thirty years might have been very different if Elizabeth had been guided by her husband's opinion; but she was too brave and dauntless to run away, and she felt that her departure would discourage the Bohemians, and also would be cowardly. On her own account she was always brave—she only feared for her beloved Frederic. But she sent her son, Prince Henry Frederic, to Berlin, in charge of his uncle. Therefore she remained in her capital and wrote long letters to Frederic, who was an equally good correspondent. Frederic's letters not only show his affection for his wife, and his hope and belief in his cause, but also that Elizabeth was dearer to him than his adopted country; though he occasionally speaks sententiously of his calling.

At this period Frederic proved his courage and showed himself a not unskilful general. When the Imperial army secretly placed itself between the Bohemians and Prague, Frederic discovered the ruse, and rapidly placed his own army between the city and the enemy. Then the scene of action came nearer and nearer to Prague, and early in November it became apparent that a battle must be fought at the very gates of the city. Sunday, 8 November, 1620, was the Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, and the Gospel for the day contains the words, 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's,' a fact thought at this time by the Imperial army, and afterwards by all loyal Imperialists, to be of the utmost significance—prophetic that Imperial Cæsar should regain his own possessions. On this Sunday morning the Bohemian army was posted on a hill near Prague, called the Weisen Berg, and the soldiers of the Emperor were drawn up at the foot. The Imperial army was weakened by hunger and cold, and Bouquoi advised a rest. Tilly, always energetic, urged an immediate advance. The question was settled by the arrival of a Dominican friar who prophesied victory, and showing them a statue of the Blessed Virgin that had been defaced by the Protestants, exclaimed, 'See here what they have done. The prayers of the Holy Virgin will be yours. Trust in

God, and go boldly to the battle. He fights on your side, and will give you the victory.' The soldiers of the Emperor therefore advanced towards the enemy.

Meanwhile Frederic, believing his army unassailable, and longing to see his wife, left Christian of Anhalt in command, and hurried into Prague. Once there he stayed to dine with Elizabeth and the English envoys, Conway and Weston. When the meal was over Frederic started to return to his army, but before the city gate was reached he was met by Christian of Anhalt, white and distraught, who told him that the battle had been fought and lost, his army shattered, the cannon taken, and his and his Queen's lives in jeopardy. Frederic's first act on hearing that everything was lost, was to order his gates open for the fugitives; he then went to Elizabeth and urged her to prepare for flight. No attempt was made to entrench the remains of his army behind the fortifications of the city and wait for reinforcements, as the followers of Ziska had done—nothing was done to rally the troops. Twenty-four hours were humbly asked in which to prepare for departure. The poor King and Queen collected as many of their possessions as they could in the hurry and excitement—but left behind them the crown, the most important State documents, and the archives of the Union, which fell into the hands of the Imperialists.

When all was done they passed through the disheartened populace, crossed the bridge, still adorned with the statues, and held a Council in a citizen's house in the old town. The ministers and nobles implored the King to stand firm, reminded him of his coronation oath, and pointed out that if he would stay in his capital there might be a chance of victory still. But Elizabeth would not fly to safety and leave her husband in danger, and Frederic would not let his wife remain in such great peril. Elizabeth was always the very first consideration with Frederic, so, regardless of country, religion, and honour, and only thinking of each other, they marshalled their scattered followers and fled

CHAPTER XI

Spes sola superest

(Motto from a medal Elizabeth had struck when she reached The Hague)

European view of the situation. Elizabeth's journey. Birth of Maurice at Custrin. Elizabeth at The Hague. The war. Wallenstein. Edict of Restitution. Birth of more Princes and Princesses Palatine. Gustavus Adolphus. Frederic joins him. Death of Gustavus Adolphus. Death of Frederic. Elizabeth remains at The Hague.

IT was believed by Sir Dudley Diggs and a few others that Frederic's deplorable desertion of his post was due to devotion to his wife and not to personal cowardice, but public opinion in general was based upon the opposite view. This King, who had been willing to risk for his own aggrandizement the welfare of a country, and, when the crisis came, had lacked the courage to be loyal to that country, was regarded with unlimited scorn. Numbers of lampoons and caricatures were circulated in Germany and the Netherlands, chiefly descriptive of a young prince who, having married a king's daughter, must needs have a king's title 'be it ever so dear.' Others said that the Prince and Princess Palatine were lost and exhorted their readers to find them. The many verses of one song ended with the German equivalent of the following couplet:—

Oh, if you know, now tell me
Where the lost Palatine can be.

A drawing of Frederic walking with a bundle on his shoulder, and Elizabeth behind with a cradle on her back, was very popular. In Brussels, placards were posted on the walls of the prominent buildings, which purported to offer a reward

for information concerning 'a king run away a few days since, of adolescent age, sanguine colour, middle height, a cast in one of his eyes, no moustache, only down on his lip, not badly disposed when a stolen kingdom did not lie in his way—his name Frederic.' If the exiled King and Queen saw any of these pasquinades they must have been mortified to discover that even in countries they thought friendly their tragedy could be treated with ridicule. But at first they were too much concerned about their personal safety to consider public opinion.

When the fugitives were about a mile from Prague, young Count Thurn, realizing the probability of their being overtaken by the Imperialists, arranged with one or two other young nobles to go back and keep the bridge. Before starting he told the Queen of his plan, but she deprecated it, saying, 'Never shall our best friends have reason to curse us for the loss of their sons.' Count Thurn, undeterred, replied, 'I will do the work I go about or die.' He went, kept the bridge and did not die, and, as the English despatch said, 'Honour live with him and be his portion for ever.'

Elizabeth's words to Count Thurn may be regarded as the key-note of her mental attitude during the terrible journey across Germany. She knew that many had suffered in her cause, and that many more would lay down their lives for it, and realizing this determined to do her best to obviate or alleviate as much danger and distress as she possibly could. She could not prevent men fighting for her, but she could make them, when with her, as happy and cheerful as outward circumstances would permit; and she did so by maintaining an agreeable and hopeful demeanour in the face of the most distressing conditions. She was not heard to grumble or complain during the whole of the long dangerous journey from Prague to The Hague, although she had not the common comforts of life; her luggage having been pillaged, she had not even the luxury of a nightdress! When the roads permitted, she drove, but more frequently she had to ride on a pillion behind Ralph Hopton, an English volunteer. Nor did her discomfort end here, for a baby was expected, and the Queen was quite in the dark as to where she could find refuge for its birth.

It was during this journey that the uncrowned, exiled Queen gained her immutable royal title. 'If King James,' said Hopton and the other English volunteers, who formed her body-guard, 'forbids us to call his daughter Queen of Bohemia, we suppose we may call her Queen of Hearts'; and as Queen of Hearts she has been famous ever since.

In about a fortnight after they left Prague the travellers reached Breslau, in Silesia, where Elizabeth wrote to her father an urgent appeal for help.

A few days later the King and Queen were obliged to part, to their mutual sorrow, Elizabeth going to Frankfurt-on-Oder, and Frederic remaining at Breslau, to rally his scattered forces. From Frankfurt Elizabeth wrote to ask her husband's brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, if she might go to Berlin for her accouchement, adding that she would await his reply at Custrin, as it was unsafe for her to remain longer at Frankfurt. Elector George William discouraged a visit to Berlin, and only gave the most grudging permission for her to stay at the Castle of Custrin—half furnished and overrun with rats. So at Custrin she stayed awaiting eventualities.

Meanwhile Frederic fared badly at Breslau, as the Bohemians were forced at the sword's point to swear allegiance to the Emperor. In order to ascertain his position with regard to the army, Frederic gave his troops a month's pay and told them to go or stay as they preferred. Many stayed, but the Elector of Saxony, the Emperor's viceroy, persuaded the Silesians to join the Imperial faction. They thereupon offered Frederic eighty thousand florins to leave their country. Having no alternative, Frederic with a sore heart took the money and followed his wife to Custrin.

The Protestant princes pursued a neutral course, but when the Imperial ban against Frederic was promulgated on 22 January, 1621, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Brunswick evinced leanings towards the Empire. Ferdinand, in putting the King of Bohemia under the ban of the Empire, withdrew his electorate and denied his right to both his kingdom and his hereditary possessions. So by the time he reached Custrin, Frederic was deprived of Bohemia, all his forces but Mansfeldt's mercenaries, and all his allies but the United Provinces and

Bethlem Gabor, whose connection with Turkey was more prejudicial than helpful to the Palatine's cause. He still hoped for help from Denmark, Sweden, Brunswick, and England ; but the hope was vain, as King Christian and the Duke were unwilling to offend ruling powers, and King James insisted upon following his usual policy of arbitration ; and, when all Europe was eager for war, sent ambassadors with proposals of peace to the Emperor, the King of Denmark, the Princes of the Union, and the King and Queen of Bohemia ; the last, Sir Edward Villiers, was welcomed cordially as he brought a new year's gift of twenty thousand pounds. Frederic, being depressed by the defection of his Bohemian and Silesian subjects, was persuaded to sign a document that pledged him to implicit obedience to the wishes of King James, which really meant a resignation of the Bohemian throne on condition that the Imperial ban should be removed and his hereditary possessions and electorate restored to him. James then approached Ferdinand, who, knowing his power and James's constitutional weakness, refused to agree to his part of the contract, and brought forward an ancient claim to parts of the Palatinate. He also issued a mandate to the Elector of Brandenburg commanding him to expel the Princess Palatine from his dominions as soon as her health should permit.

Once more James's statecraft failed. He then placed the matter before Parliament, saying at the end of a long and eloquent speech, 'To recover that which is lost I declare to you that if I cannot get it by peace, my crown and my blood, and the blood of my son, shall not be spared for it, but I can do nothing without the sustenance of my people—*Qui cito dat, bis dat.*' The Commons answered this appeal with enthusiasm, unanimously voting for the recovery of the Palatinate, and saying that for that cause they would 'adventure their fortunes and their estates and their lives.' The prospect of military intervention on the part of England caused a temporary suspension of hostilities, but when it transpired that James only intended to use the money subscribed to pay Mansfeldt's troops, and that he still clung to the Spanish alliance and refused to declare war against Spain's Imperial ally, the true value of his promised aid was realized, and the war recommenced.

Meanwhile the King and Queen remained at Custrin. On

16 January, shortly after the arrival of Sir Edward Villiers, Elizabeth's fourth son was born, and christened Maurice after the great Stadtholder of the United Provinces. Two days after the baptism Frederic with an escort of five hundred men left for Wolfenbuttel to visit the Duke of Brunswick : being coldly received, he hurried on to Celle and from there to Hamburg, where a colony of English merchants lent him eight thousand rix dollars. When Prince Maurice was six weeks old Elizabeth, in accordance with the Elector of Brandenburg's wish, left Custrin, and, after placing the baby in the care of his aunt at Berlin, proceeded to Wolfenbuttel, where, like her husband, she was an unwelcome guest. Frederic soon sent a company of soldiers to escort her to Stolzenau in Westphalia, where he met her and then took her to Holland. The Stadtholder and the States who had given them a cordial invitation now gave them a royal welcome, and the citizens assembled to greet them as if they were regnant, not exiled, monarchs.

A palace near to that of the Prince of Orange was given by the States to the King and Queen of Bohemia. The previous owner of the palace, a Catholic called Mylo, had been exiled for some political offence and his possessions had been confiscated. His wife, however, had been allowed to remain in a corner of the family house. Elizabeth, hearing of this, instead of turning the poor lady out, consoled and comforted her, and eventually obtained her husband's rehabilitation.

It had been generally supposed that England would be the ultimate destination of the Bohemian sovereigns ; but shortly after they reached The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton arrived with letters from James expressing his aversion to this contemplated visit. Elizabeth with her usual tact concealed her disappointment, and cleverly imbued her Court with the idea that she had neither the intention nor the desire to go to England.

James's objection to his daughter's coming to England was quite consistent with his character. He recognized his unpopularity with his ultra-Protestant subjects, and he was sure that Elizabeth, both from personal charm and from Protestant devotion, would be extremely popular. He had only to look to his own infancy to observe the possibility of the deposition of a monarch in favour of his child. This being his point of

view, he naturally thought it safer that Elizabeth should remain on the other side of the Channel. Fortunately the Prince of Orange and the States were at one in their regard for the King and Queen who had suffered so much for Protestantism, and invited them to prolong their visit indefinitely. The States further voted them an allowance of ten thousand florins a month.

Feeling herself definitely settled at The Hague, Elizabeth determined to make the best of a melancholy situation. She kept up her cheerful manner, went out hunting and shooting, and made her little Court as gay as she could with receptions, masques, and dances. Frederic could not rise above circumstances like his wife: his position too was more galling. Two strong emotions influenced him in opposite directions. The war was raging in the Palatinate, and loyalty to his friends, the Prince of Orange, Mansfeldt, and Christian of Brunswick, drew him to the field of action, while his promise to King James bound him to stay at The Hague. Even his love for his wife pulled him in contrary ways: he wished to remain with her, and he longed to be the means of restoring her to her royal estate. At last, by April 1622, he could bear inaction no longer, and, despite his promise to James, started for the front.

The consequences of Elizabeth's gratified ambition on the state of Germany and Bohemia were momentous. Bohemia was subject to the most inhuman religious persecutions known to history. The Palatinate was ravaged by fire and sword, and disaster followed disaster to the enemies of the League. At length several Protestant princes who had hitherto kept aloof from Frederic's faction, fearing for their religious freedom, joined Mansfeldt's army. The chief of these was Christian of Brunswick, lay bishop of Halberstadt, a cousin of Elizabeth's, who probably allied himself with the fallen King because of his admiration and affection for the beautiful Queen. He had sworn not to lay down his arms till Elizabeth was restored to her kingdom. He wore her glove in his helmet, and is reported to have vowed to return the gage to her at Prague. His war-cry was for 'God and my Lady.' His feelings for her must have been of a purely romantic kind, as he also entertained a profound friendship for her husband. In a letter written to her in

the spring of 1622, Christian describes himself as her 'most humblest, constant, faithful, affectionate, and obedient slave, who would expend all he had in the world for her, and would love her infinitely and incessantly to death.'

The other princes who joined Frederic were, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, four princes of Saxe-Weimar, and Magnus of Würtemberg; the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was enthusiastic in the cause, but as the heads of his provincial estates had, without his consent, made a treaty with Spain, he was unable to bring even a regiment into the field.

The Spanish Government was opposed to the transfer of Frederic's Electorate to the Duke of Bavaria, as they feared it would lead to endless war; being bound by their devotion to the Church to uphold the Empire and the League, they suggested terms of a compromise: the Palatinate should be assured to Frederic's heirs on the condition that his eldest son should be brought up at Vienna, which implied as a Roman Catholic. Such policy was quite hopeless, for Frederic was perfectly sincere in his Protestantism, and Elizabeth on several occasions said she would rather see her children dead than Roman Catholics. A conference at Brussels was the next plan for peace. The delegates arrived and there was a plethora of talk, but before a decision was reached the news came that Frederic had joined his army.

As a man of honour and a soldier, Frederic was bound to join the army that was fighting for his cause in a war he had been instrumental in bringing about. He joined Mansfeldt in Alsace in the middle of April, 1622, the Margrave of Baden was in the same province, and Sir Horace Vere was still holding Heidelberg, Mannheim and Frankenthal, while Tilly and Cordova were leading the Imperial and the Spanish troops towards the Palatinate. Frederic at once took command, effected a junction with the Margrave of Baden, was successful in his first action, and conquered Tilly at Wiesloch. While the King was exulting in his victory, Sir Richard Weston arrived from Brussels with a message from the King of England, expressing surprise and indignation that Frederic should have taken up arms, and directing him to agree to a truce. Frederic refused, saying that such an action on his part would ruin his

cause. However, when he heard that Tilly had completely routed Mansfeldt at Wimpfen on 6 May, Frederic promised to agree to the truce. A fortnight later the tide of fortune appeared to have turned in his favour, and he told Weston he could not and would not withdraw from the field. Early in June an attempt to join Christian of Brunswick was attended with great loss, and on 20 June Christian was badly beaten at Höchst. Frederic, feeling his cause forlorn, again favoured the policy of peace, and agreed to sign the truce and promised filial obedience to James. But the acquiescence was too late, Tilly and Cordova would not now agree to it. Dismissing his generals, Mansfeldt and Christian, the Duke of Baden had already defected, Frederic washed his hands of any responsibility they might incur, went to the Sedan, from whence he conducted negotiations.

In September, 1622, the Conference of Brussels was dissolved, and later in the autumn Heidelberg and Mannheim surrendered to Tilly, and a few months afterwards Frankenthal capitulated to the Spaniards. On 13 February, 1623, the princes assembled at the Council of Ratisbon confirmed the transference of Frederic's Electorate to the Duke of Bavaria. If at the Duke's death the head of the Palatine family wished to regain his territory and Electorate, a petition to the Emperor would be considered, and possibly granted, if in the meantime Frederic would withdraw his claim to both lands and the dignity. Frederic naturally refused to agree to such conditions. But when later in the same year James I. made a treaty with Spain, in which he virtually agreed to the abandonment of the Palatinate, Frederic was so disheartened that he accepted the conditions of the Council of Ratisbon which he had scornfully rejected in February.

Frederic returned to The Hague in the autumn, depressed and dispirited. So worn was he by hardships and distress, that after the first rapturous greeting Elizabeth's agitation at his altered appearance caused her to fall into several fainting fits. Once settled down at The Hague, the exiled sovereigns spent much time and ingenuity in planning abortive plots for their restoration. The allowance from the United Provinces formed the greater part of their income, and they realized the bitterness

of living on the generosity of the rich. But in spite of all disappointments and trials Elizabeth was always hopeful, and did her utmost to impress her mental attitude upon others. When the Palatinate was conquered by the Catholic armies she hoped the Protestant princes would unite to reconquer it; they made a half-hearted attempt and then came to terms with the enemy. Her only dream—that of a crown—that came true, turned to a nightmare. Still she always hoped, and although her hopes usually were rewarded by disappointment, she remained cheerful, and there was no bitterness in her heart. Some historians have blamed her for frivolity and censured her for encouraging charades, dances, and other amusements at her Court; but surely in the life of tragedy, her courageous cheerfulness, which permitted gaieties that gladdened the sad lives of her family and friends, was a heavenly virtue.

All this time war was raging in Germany, chiefly as a struggle for Roman Catholic or Protestant supremacy in Europe and Frederic's cause was becoming a secondary consideration with every one but his personal friends and immediate family. In 1624, however, when the Prince of Wales returned from Spain without his promised bride, and the Spanish alliance was dissolved, the English Parliament began once more to consider the restoration of the Palatinate; but when they found that such a course would necessitate an augmentation of the war, and the expenditure of money, they preferred to wait the result of the King's latest attempt at negotiation with the Powers. Louis XIII., though willing that his sister Henrietta should marry the Prince of Wales, and ready to form an alliance with England, refused to assist the Palatine cause.

In the midst of all these negotiations James I. died, and Charles, always zealous for his sister's cause, promised a subsidy of twenty thousand pounds a month, and sent forty-six thousand pounds to headquarters at once. Early in June Mansfeldt joined Christian IV., and on the 18th Tilly crossed the frontier and the Danish part of the war began. It was doubtful whether the Imperial and Spanish forces were strong enough to combat the coalition of Mansfeldt's and the King of Denmark's armies, and Ferdinand felt uneasy. When things were at their worst, however, Albert von Wallenstein, Prince of Friedland, a Catholic Bohemian

noble, appeared on the scene, and offered to provide the Empire with an army of fifty thousand men at his own cost. Discipline was to be maintained and no pillage allowed; contributions were to be raised from the constituted authorities. Ferdinand accepted the offer with thankfulness, the army was organized, and the balance of power restored, or rather turned on the Imperial side. In a few months the victories of Mansfeldt were obliterated by those of his great enemy, and the Protestant leader slain.

In March, 1628, the Emperor gave the Upper Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria in exchange for Upper Austria, and Maximilian soon obtained complete control over the religion of subjects, who thereupon were given the alternative of joining the Roman communion or going into exile. On 29 March, 1629, the Edict of Restitution was issued, by which the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, twelve bishoprics, and a hundred and twenty smaller ecclesiastical foundations were restored to the Church of Rome, without any regard for the wishes and feelings of the *ci-devant* congregations.

For ten years Frederic remained with his wife either at The Hague or at their country house at Rhenn. During those years their six children were born. Louis, who died in 1624: Edward, who became a Roman Catholic; Henrietta Maria (christened after the Queen of England), who married the Prince of Transylvania and died five months after her marriage; Charlotte, who died young; Sophia, born 13 October 1630, their twelfth child, from whom are descended the King of England and the Emperor of Germany. The thirteenth child, Gustavus Adolphus, died in his sixth year. Of the elder seven children, Henry Frederic, after finishing his education began to learn the art of war as a volunteer in the Prince of Orange's army; Charles Louis, afterwards Elector Palatine, was during this period with his sister Elizabeth at Berlin, in the care of the old Electress Louisa Juliana and the Elector and Electress of Brandenburg. Elizabeth eventually became Lutheran abbess of Herford. The next three boys, Rupert, later the mad cavalier of the English Civil War, Maurice, also a cavalier, afterwards lost at sea, and Philip, who was killed at the siege of Retch, fighting for France, were at school at Leyden, and Louisa Hollandine, who was born in April, 1622, while Frederic

was fighting in the Palatinate, remained with her mother at the Hague.

On 7 January, 1629, one of those terrible events occurred of which fate appears to have reserved a more than usually large proportion for the Stuarts.

Prince Maurice, Stadtholder of Holland, who died in 1625, left Elizabeth a share in a Dutch company formed to raise a fleet to destroy and plunder some treasure-laden Spanish galleons. At the beginning of January, 1629, it was reported that the Dutch admiral had intercepted the ships on their way from Mexico to the Spanish Netherlands and taken plate to the value of eight hundred and seventy thousand pounds. On hearing this Frederic went to Amsterdam with his eldest son to receive Elizabeth's share. Late in the evening, when the business was done, the King and Prince embarked in a passenger boat which sailed regularly across the Zuyder Zee from Amsterdam to the Hague. It was a foggy night and the Zuyder Zee was crowded with boats steered by hilarious Hollanders. Suddenly the passenger boat was struck by a beer-laden barge; in a moment it began to sink; the captain swam after the escaping barge, calling to the crew to save the King of Bohemia; a cable was thrown and Frederic hoisted on to the beer-barge, but the poor little fifteen-year-old prince was left on the sinking packet. He clung to the mast in great terror and icy cold and called loudly, 'Father! save me, father!' But the packet sank too quickly for Frederic and the intoxicated crew of the barge to be of any use, so the boy, with all hands on the sinking ship, was drowned. He was found next morning with his cheek frozen to the mast to which he still seemed to cling.

Frederic was so overcome with grief at the tragic death of his son that he was unable to tell Elizabeth the dreadful news; it was therefore broken to her by the English ambassador, the Earl of Carlisle. The shock nearly killed the Queen, whose baby, Charlotte, was only a month old. Great grief was felt in England for the death of the Prince, and at the same time the national pride was offended that the second heir to the throne should meet his death on an ordinary passenger boat, and Frederic was severely blamed for allowing him to travel in such an improper manner.

In the beginning of 1630 the Protestant cause, and incidentally that of Frederic, seemed hopeless; but in July two events occurred that turned the scale of fortune in its favour. The first was the dismissal of Wallenstein, the second the landing of Gustavus Adolphus on the Baltic coast. In September the combined forces of Sweden and Saxony defeated Tilly's army at a village about two miles from Leipzig. By this victory the Protestant supremacy in Europe was assured and the Emperor obliged to withdraw the Edict of Restitution. Next month Gustavus marched to the Palatinate, conquered Oppenheim on the 16th, and spent Christmas at Mainz.

On 12 January, 1632, Frederic left the Hague to join the great champion of the Protestant cause. Elizabeth was sorely grieved that she was unable to accompany her husband to the Palatinate, but said good-bye to him with a certain hope of an early reunion in the capital of their own hereditary dominions.

Gustavus received Frederic graciously. He had always wished for the Prince Palatine's presence in his camp as a guarantee to Protestant Germany of his own honourable intentions with regard to the Palatinate, although Frederic brought neither men nor money. Lord Craven, a young English nobleman who had completed his education at the Hague and had conceived a great admiration for the Queen of Bohemia, joined the Swedish army as a volunteer, bringing with him three thousand men, whom he had equipped and transported at his own expense.

In March, Gustavus Adolphus, accompanied by Frederic, entered Nuremberg, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, who, in spite of their rulers, still clung to Protestantism. On 5 April he took Donauwörth; a week later he was again successful in forcing a passage of the Lech, strongly guarded by Imperial artillery. In this action Tilly received his death wound, dying at the neighbouring town of Ingolstadt. After annexing Ausberg, Gustavus turned his steps towards Bavaria again.

Before the Swedes left the Palatinate Frederic asked the King if he might levy troops from his own people, explaining that it would add to his happiness, not to say dignity, to do so. Gustavus, however, objected; and Frederic's distress at the refusal of his request, as well as the King's reasons for it, are

shown in an extract from a letter to Elizabeth:— ‘ . . . The King of Sweden continues to treat me very civilly. As to the rest I know not what I am about. I see clearly that the King of Sweden does not desire me to have troops ; he said that if I raised any it would ruin his army. I know not wherefore what I shall be good for, nor why the King of Sweden desired me to come. If there be nothing more to do than what I see as yet, I had better have stayed at the Hague.’

However, as Gustavus was master of the situation, Frederic was obliged to veil his feelings and remain in the army in the character of a volunteer.

The next dissension between the kings was caused chiefly by Frederic's Calvinistic bigotry. He wished to have the Palatinate formally restored to him, and Gustavus Adolphus consented to restore it on the condition that Frederic would give the Lutherans in his country not only religious freedom but protection, and acknowledge that he owed his reinstatement to the King of Sweden. But Frederic would not agree to protect the Lutherans, nor to acknowledge himself, as he expressed it, the vassal of Gustavus Adolphus, although that sovereign had spent both men and treasure unstintingly in the recovery of the Palatinate.

Frederic remained with the King of Sweden, although he would not consent to his terms and felt aggrieved at his treatment.

There were two conflicting opinions as to Gustavus Adolphus's policy with regard to the restoration of the Palatinate. Frederic and Elizabeth and their party thought that their country should be unconditionally given back to them. Schiller held this view, saying that in the treatment of Frederic ‘ the King of Sweden entirely belied the magnanimity of the hero and forgot the sacred character of a protector.’ Gustavus Adolphus quite reasonably thought, that as he had been instrumental in wresting the Palatinate from the Catholic Powers he had a right to suzerainty over it.

After the death of Tilly the Swedish army proceeded to Ausberg and from there to Munich, where Frederic seems to have derived satisfaction from occupying the capital of the relative who had treated him so badly, although he wrote to

Elizabeth that he would not have taken any of Maximilian's treasures even if they had not been removed. This magnanimity is particularly meritorious as Maximilian had allowed the Spanish soldiers to have their own way with the art treasures of Heidelberg. Elizabeth displays more human nature in writing, 'Of all men I do not pity the Duke of Bavaria, as the King of Sweden only pays him in the coin he lent us.'

Meanwhile John George marched unopposed through Bohemia. All Germany except the hereditary possessions of the Hapsburgs was now in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus; and the Emperor, fearing to lose his authority, if not his inherited territory, recalled Wallenstein. In April the great general accepted the command of the army for three months, and commenced another triumphal march through Bohemia; that country restored to the Empire, he proceeded to Nuremberg, where he and the King of Sweden met for the first time. The Bohemian general would not fight, and for weeks the armies remained inactive. On 3 September Gustavus stormed the enemy's entrenchments, but failing to make any impression withdrew his troops. Wallenstein broke up his camp and marched to Saxony, whither Gustavus followed him, and overtook him at Lützen. Early in the morning of 16 November Gustavus attacked the Imperial army. Discarding his armour he led his soldiers to the battle; at about eleven o'clock he was separated from his guards; and losing his way in the thick fog that had arisen, rode straight into the lines of the enemy, and was shot. A cuirassier asked who it was, and Gustavus answered, 'I was the King of Sweden,' and then died.

Bernard of Weimar now took the command, and the soldiers, infuriated by the news of the King's death, fought with redoubled vigour, and soon Wallenstein gave the order to retreat to his defeated forces.

Frederic had been with Gustavus at Munich and Nuremberg, but had left for the Palatinate early in October. He went to Frankfurt first, and after a short stay there to Mainz, where unhappily the plague was raging. Never very strong, he soon contracted the disease, but in a mild form, and no anxiety was felt about him, but before he recovered the awful news came from Lützen, which overwhelmed him with grief and anxiety. As was

usual with him mental distress affected his health, and he speedily became dangerously ill. When the great physician, Dr. Spina, arrived on the 26th the King's state seemed hopeless. He was delirious and thought he still heard his drowning son calling, 'Father! come to me, father!' However, he rallied enough to write a few lines to Elizabeth to tell her he was better; but his improvement was but temporary, and he died at seven o'clock in the morning of the 29th. His last words, preserved by Spanheim, were a request 'that the States of Holland and Prince Frederic Henry, their Stadtholder, would not withdraw their protection from the dear Princess his consort, whom he had committed to their care; and that from Charles I. she would continue to receive proofs of fraternal affection. As to himself, she would only lose one whose chief merit had been that she had constantly been the dearest object in his existence.'

One feels with regard to Frederic v. of the Palatinate, that owing to the outward circumstances of his life, justice has not been done to his character. As a man he was religious, conscientious, and kind, an excellent husband and father; but as a ruler he lacked the strength of character and keenness of perception that the conditions of the time demanded; at the early age of twenty-two he was called upon to face the most perplexing problems of his whole career.

Elizabeth was completely crushed by the tidings of her husband's death. For three days after her physician told her of it she remained impassive, neither speaking, weeping, sleeping, nor eating. The blow was terrible in its suddenness, as her anxiety about his health had been allayed by the few lines he had written to her during his last slight improvement, and she was daily expecting him to send for her that they might enter Heidelberg together after twelve years of exile.

After the deaths of Frederic and Gustavus Adolphus the war between the League and the Union waged as fiercely as ever, and Elizabeth disconsolately watched its course from the Hague. Her one object now was the restoration of her son to the unconditional possession of his father's hereditary lands and titles by means of a victorious campaign. As each son neared manhood she urged him to join the Protestant army.

Charles I. wrote a sympathetic letter to his sister, and invited her to make her home in England; but Elizabeth refused, although the prospect of returning to her native land was pleasing, as her departure from the Hague might have been regarded by the Protestant princes as a desertion of their cause, and so have prejudiced the interests of her children.

Although Charles's sympathy for Elizabeth was great, and his wish for her presence in his country sincere, his unfortunate relations with his Parliament prevented him from rendering substantial assistance towards the maintenance of an army.

CHAPTER XII

Death of Ferdinand II. Conduct of Charles Louis. Scandal about Queen Elizabeth. Peace of Westphalia. Restoration of Charles Louis. Execution of Charles I. Death of Cromwell. Restoration of Charles II. Elizabeth goes to England. Her death.

ON 15 February, 1637, Ferdinand II. died, and his son, who had recently been elected King of the Romans, succeeded him as Ferdinand III. He was a weak man and unlikely to restore to the Empire its lost grandeur, but on the other hand he had not his father's vices of tyranny and bigotry.

The Prince Palatine issued a protest against the validity of the election of Ferdinand III., on the grounds that as the Duke of Bavaria was not legally an Elector, the Electoral College was incomplete and incapable of action; considering the Imperial throne vacant he, as first Elector of the Empire, claimed his ancestral right to the post of vicar-general during the vacancy. He also requested the Protestant princes to refrain from acknowledging Ferdinand III. However, the protest was disregarded, and the Protestant princes, even Charles I., found it expedient to acknowledge the new Emperor.

Meanwhile Elizabeth led a quiet but anxious life at the Hague. Lack of money was her chief distress; not only was she unable to raise funds for her son's army, but incapable of paying her creditors, whose accounts were rapidly increasing. Her allowance from Charles I. was infrequently paid, and although the Parliament had promised her an income, the first instalment was not forthcoming.

Sophia at a later date writes that her mother's Court was inundated by rats, mice, and creditors, and that when Madame de Longueville, daughter of the great Condé, visited the Hague,

Elizabeth arranged to meet her in the Prince of Orange's garden rather than display the dilapidated condition of her furniture.

In the autumn of 1636, Charles Louis and Rupert went to England, as the former would come of age on 24 December, and Elizabeth thought it advisable that the important event should be celebrated at the English Court. Both princes were warmly welcomed: Charles I. gave the elder an allowance of about fifteen thousand pounds a year, promised to lend him a fleet when it should be required, and on his behalf entered into negotiations with Bernard of Weimar, commander of the Protestant army. Lord Craven gave the Prince ten thousand pounds.

Before all these arrangements were completed, Bernard of Weimar died in June 1639, and bequeathed his army to his brother William. But as the army was to be bought, France, Sweden, and the Prince Palatine each wished to buy it. Charles I. offered to provide his nephew with the necessary funds, and entered into correspondence with the officers. While the negotiations were proceeding, Charles Louis, with Rupert and Lord Craven, visited Elizabeth in Rhenen, on the way to his army in Westphalia. She wished them all good-bye with cheerfulness, more hopeful than ever of her son's ultimate restoration.

The Prince Palatine took command of the army—only about four thousand men—encountered the large Imperial force under Hatzfeldt, near Lippe, and was completely defeated. When all hope of victory was over, he was persuaded to fly, but Rupert and Lord Craven made one last charge in which they were wounded and taken prisoners.

Charles Louis, in his hurry to reach England, and hasten the arrangements for acquiring Weimar's army, attempted to cross France without a passport. Richelieu, who also wished for the army, promptly ordered the Prince's arrest, which took place at Moulins, near Paris. Though kindly treated, Charles Louis was detained until the army had been acquired by the French Government. Once more Elizabeth's hopes were turned to despair: her eldest son imprisoned in Paris; and Rupert and Lord Craven in captivity in Vienna; the Duke of Weimar's army annexed to France; while Charles the First's relations with his Parliament prevented him from assisting the Palatine cause with the promised funds.

The next ten years were, perhaps, the most dreary of all in Elizabeth's life. Appeals of her creditors and petitions to Charles I. and the English Parliament (she tactfully kept on good terms with each) formed the background of her life. Then her daughters did not marry. Suitors came and admired, sometimes even proposed, but their parents and relations dissuaded them from taking impecunious brides. Money and assured positions were all that the Palatine Princesses lacked. Elizabeth was said to be the most learned, Louise the most artistic, and Sophia the most brilliant princess in Europe. Elizabeth had several proposals from Roman Catholics, but conscientiously refused them, and ended her days as the Abbess of a Lutheran convent.

Another annoyance for Elizabeth was the conduct of Charles Louis. When allowed to leave Paris, he had hastened to London, and quickly grasping the position of affairs, cringed to the Parliament, and treated the King with contumely. Rupert, however, threw in his lot with the King.

In 1642 Mary, Princess Royal of England, was married to the Prince of Orange, and Queen Henrietta Maria visited Holland for some months. Apart from religious differences, she and the Queen of Bohemia were on excellent terms. Prince Edward, however, became, to his mother's grief, a convert to his aunt's faith and married a Roman Catholic lady, Princess Anne of Gonzaga of Nevers.

Two years later the Electress-Dowager of the Palatinate, Louisa Juliana, died. Notwithstanding past disagreements, she sent from her death-bed a kind and affectionate message to Elizabeth.

In 1645, for the very first time, Elizabeth's name was defamed with the touch of scandal. A young Frenchman, calling himself the Marquis d'Epinay, came to the Hague and evinced a great admiration for the Queen of Bohemia, who accepted his adoration and apparently liked him. Her children, particularly Princess Elizabeth, held him in abhorrence, and family feuds ensued. The Princess, to the amazement of all the world, exaggerated the friendship, and cast aspersions on her mother's character. The suggestion of impropriety was particularly absurd, as Elizabeth was now fifty years old, the mother

of thirteen children, had been a devoted wife, and had passed through a life that must have bristled with temptation, without one word having been spoken against her decorum, although her enemies, who were legion, would gladly have slandered her, if she had given them the slightest opportunity. But the Princess's brothers and sisters were at one with her in the ridiculous idea. D'Epinay's tendency to boast added fuel to their flame, and on 20 June, 1646, Prince Philip quarrelled with the Marquis, and meeting him in the road on the following day attacked and killed him. Elizabeth was furious when she heard of the outrage, and refused to see Philip again in spite of the supplication of Charles Louis and all her other children. Shortly afterwards Princess Elizabeth went to live with her aunt, the Electress of Brandenburg. In 1647 Prince Frederic Henry of Orange died, and his son William, who had married Princess Mary of England, became Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

One of Elizabeth's greatest pleasures during this dreary decade was her friendship with Mary of Orange, whom she always described as her 'best niece,' and another, the occasional meetings with the Prince of Wales and James, Duke of York, who was her godson and 'best nephew.'

In 1648 peace was made—not a mere attempt to suspend hostilities, but a real lasting peace. Both sides, and all the factions of each side, were weary of war, and the Emperor was quite willing to acknowledge the religious freedom of Calvinists as well as Lutherans; and on 24 October the Peace of Westphalia was signed, by which the condition of Europe in 1624 was to be the standard by which all disputes should be tested. Ecclesiastical benefices, then in Catholic hands, should be Catholic, and those that were Protestant then should be Protestant now and for ever.

The Imperial Court was reconstructed, and was now to contain an equal number of Catholics and Protestants. France, Sweden, Denmark, and Brandenburg retained the various provinces they had conquered; the Upper Palatinate was allotted to Maximilian of Bavaria, and his Electorate confirmed to him and his descendants. The Lower Palatinate was given to Charles Louis, and an eighth Electorate was created for him.

Elizabeth was overjoyed at her son's restoration ; but news travelled more slowly over land than sea, and when the festivities in honour of the reinstatement of the Prince Palatine were at their height, messengers came from England with the tidings of the trial and execution of Charles I. Rejoicings abruptly ceased, and the Queen of Bohemia was again plunged into the depths of grief.

In 1649 Charles Louis took up his residence in Heidelberg, and in the following year married Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel (whom he repudiated later in favour of Louise de Degenfeld), by whom he had two children, Charles, the last of his line, and Elizabeth Charlotte, who married Philip of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. and widower of Henrietta of England, and so became the ancestress of the Orleans branch of the House of Bourbon, the head of which branch ascended the French throne in 1830, as Louis Philippe, the citizen king.

After the death of Charles I. Elizabeth retired more than ever from public life. Her financial position was so hopeless that her creditors would not let her leave the Hague. Therefore her return to the Palatinate depended upon the generosity of her son and the liberality of the English Parliament. As Charles Louis increased in avidity, and the allowance from England was barely enough for current expenses, her hope of ending her days at Heidelberg gradually faded away.

In 1653 Princess Elizabeth, who had returned to her mother after the death of Charles I., and Princess Sophia, went to live with their brother at Heidelberg, Elizabeth being positively unable to support them. The Queen was so poor at this time that she wrote to Lord Craven, that 'next week she would have neither meat, bread, nor candles, nor any money, nor any credit for any.'

After the death of Stadtholder William of Orange, the two Dowager-Princesses, who both loved Elizabeth, persuaded the States of Holland to make her an allowance of about eighteen pounds a month. With this sum meat, bread, and candles could be bought in strict moderation, but the Court of even an exiled Queen could not be properly maintained by it. But Elizabeth's days of extravagance were over, and she received the small allowance with sincere gratitude.

In 1657 Princess Louise Hollandine left home for Paris, where, under the auspices of her brother Edward and the Queen of England, she joined the Roman Communion, and eventually became Abbess of Maubuisson. She beautified her own and the neighbouring church with her exquisite paintings.

Later in the same year Sophia married Ernest Augustus of Brunswick. The marriage was by no means romantic, as the Duke of Celle, Ernest Augustus's eldest brother, wishing for political reasons to marry, became engaged to the Princess, but realizing the loss of freedom that matrimony would entail, persuaded his younger brother and heir to act as his substitute; the political end would thus be achieved, and he, the Duke of Celle, would still enjoy his liberty. Sophia does not seem to have in any way objected to this change of bridegrooms. All through her long life statecraft and ambition were more to her than domestic joys, and when in course of time she was acknowledged heir to the crown of England, her great desire was to outlive Queen Anne and reign. 'I care not when I die,' she used to say, 'if on my tomb it be recorded that I was Queen of Great Britain.' But she died three months too soon, and the inscription was 'Heiress of Britain.'

In 1659 Cromwell died, and the Queen of Bohemia received the news with great satisfaction. She hated the Protector intensely, and had often likened him to the Beast mentioned in the Book of the Revelation. Now that he was dead, the hitherto forlorn hope might be entertained for the restoration of Charles II. Six months later the hope was realized. Charles sailed for England from the Hague, and Elizabeth and Mary of Orange, both Princesses Royal of England, saw him off with tears of joy and blessings. After the departure of the King deputations from France and England waited upon Elizabeth, with congratulations on her nephew's restoration. Amongst the latter deputation was Pepys, who described the Queen as a 'very debonair, but a plain lady.' It has been suggested that the word 'plain' referred to the widow's black dress and not to the face of the once Queen of Hearts and most beautiful princess in Europe. Elizabeth's joys were never enduring, and this one was soon clouded by the death of the Duke of Gloucester in London of small-pox, and shortly afterwards that

of Mary of Orange, who had followed her brother to England, of the same disease. When the first excitement of the Restoration was over the creditors recommenced their demands for payment, and Elizabeth appealed to the English Parliament once more. A pension of ten thousand pounds was immediately granted to her as a princess of the blood royal, and another ten thousand pounds was voted to her by both Houses as a token of the great personal esteem they felt for her.

Her creditors made no objection to her leaving the Hague for London: possibly they thought her presence there would hasten the payment of her twenty thousand pounds.

Before her departure, Sophia, now Duchess of Lüneberg, and Elizabeth Charlotte of the Palatine, visited her, and the Duke himself came to say good-bye. The Queen had long since parted with her carriages, and the French ambassador, who with the Duke and Duchess of Lüneberg accompanied her to the coast, kindly lent her his.

Before she embarked she received a note from Clarendon expressing regret that owing to lack of funds the English could not receive her with proper state. But Elizabeth, nothing daunted by this inhospitable message, proceeded on her journey, quite sure that Charles would receive her kindly. She reached London on the evening of 24 May, 1661, and drove from the river to Lord Craven's house quietly in the darkness.

The Court being in mourning for the King's brother and sister, no festivities would have been possible had Elizabeth come at his invitation: the quietness of her arrival was therefore less noticeable.

Charles received his aunt affectionately, and wrote to Charles Louis to demand payment of her dowry; and when the Elector refused to pay, Charles himself settled a yearly income of twelve thousand pounds upon her and promised to pay her debts.

Having now an annual income, Elizabeth took Lord Leicester's palace in Leicester Fields, and hoped that it would be ready for her early in the following year. While it was being prepared she remained Lord Craven's guest at Drury House.

In the meantime she took up her position as first lady at Court, and rapidly becoming popular, was quite happy and

contented, and to add to her happiness Rupert, her favourite son, came from Vienna to be near her.

For about eight months all went well, but early in January, soon after she had moved to her new home, she took a severe cold, which in a few days turned to inflammation of the lungs; hæmorrhage set in, and her condition was pronounced to be hopeless. Elizabeth received the announcement with her usual courage, and sent for the King and the Duke of York. Having persuaded the former to devote the arrears due to her from the civil list to the payment of her creditors at the Hague, she wished them both good-bye with firmness and affection, and when they had gone made her will. She left her jewels to her children, and her family papers and portraits to Lord Craven, who afterwards took them to Coombe Abbey, where they still remain. It is a strange coincidence that the relics most closely associated with Elizabeth should have gone back to the place where most of her youth was spent.

Early in the morning of 13 February, 1662, after having communicated according to the rites of the Church of England, the Queen of Bohemia passed peacefully away. She was buried on the evening of 17 February. A long torchlight procession of English and Scottish peers, including the representative of the King and Duke of York, accompanied the funeral, which passed in barges along the river to Westminster Bridge, and then marched to the entrance of the Abbey, where it was met by the dean and chapter. When the coffin was laid in the vault under Henry the Seventh's chapel, Garter King at Arms proclaimed :—

‘It hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life to His divine mercy, her Royal Majesty the most serene and powerful Princess Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, relict of Frederic by the grace of God King of Bohemia, Arch-serveur and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, only daughter of James, sister of Charles I., and aunt of Charles II., Kings of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, who most piously fell asleep in the Lord on the 13 day of February, in the mansion of the Earl of Leicester, in the year of Christ 1662, in the sixty-sixth year of her age.’

PART IV

MARY STUART, PRINCESS OF ORANGE, ELDEST
DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I

1641-1660

CHAPTER XIII

Dutch politics. Mary marries Prince William of Orange. Goes to Holland. Negotiations at Münster. Dissensions in United Provinces.

THE difficulties which beset the career of Mary Stuart as Princess of Holland arose chiefly from the peculiar history of the United Provinces and the stubborn character of the Dutch people. From earliest times the inhabitants of what is now Holland had been imbued with a passion for freedom, and the cities of that country were amongst the earliest to receive charters of liberty. Even when the Netherlands were united to the Empire by the marriage of Duchess Margaret of Burgundy with Maximilian, the burghers struggled fiercely to maintain the authority of the States-General. William of Orange, known as the Silent, led the Dutch revolt against Spanish tyranny, and in 1571 laid the foundation of the Dutch Republic in the United Provinces. After his death his eldest son Maurice was elected his successor as Stadtholder or chief magistrate. He was succeeded by his step-brother, Frederic Henry, who was the father of Prince William, who married the heroine of this biography.

Naturally, the fact that three men of one family had governed in succession irritated the more democratic of the burghers, and two factions were formed known as the Court party and the Republican party. Under the government of William II. and of Princess Mary the bitterness of political feeling reached its climax.

Princess Mary was born at St. James's Palace on 4 November,

1631. As she was a very fragile baby she was baptized immediately. Her health soon improved, and her remarkable likeness to her mother became noticeable. The resemblance was proclaimed by a contemporary poet in the following lines dedicated to the Queen :—

But in the princess you are writ so plain
And true, that in her you were born again ;
And when we see you both together placed
You are your daughter, only grown in haste.
In both we may the self-same graces see,
But that they yet in her, but infant be.

The first five years of Mary's life were spent chiefly at St. James's Palace. During this time Prince James and Princess Elizabeth were added to the royal family. In the summer of 1636 they all went to Richmond, and Charles, Mary, and James were allowed to dine with their parents even when guests were present. Charles I. and Henrietta Maria both enjoyed the simple country life, entered cheerfully into their children's games, and banished from their minds the thought of coming troubles already foreshadowed by debates in the House of Commons anent ship-money and Hampden's declaration that the impost was illegal.

Even at this early date the Princess Royal had her own household with Lady Roxburgh as governess and Mrs. Bennet as nurse. In the following year the vital questions were raised concerning her religion and her marriage. The King naturally intended the Princess Royal to be a member of the Church of England. The Queen was determined that her daughter should join the Church of Rome. Although a fervent Roman Catholic, Henrietta Maria was stimulated towards Mary's conversion by motives of policy as well as of conscience. The Queen was ambitious for her daughter, and the most eligible princes in Europe, Archduke Ferdinand, the Emperor's son, Prince Charles of Spain, and the infant Dauphin of France could only marry Roman Catholics. The only marriageable Protestant prince was Prince William of Orange, son of the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, and he was not of royal blood.

Marie de' Medici had visited the Hague in 1637, and encouraged Frederic Henry to open negotiations for a marriage

between his son and a princess of England. Charles, though as ambitious for his daughter as his wife was, considered the proposal, believing that the Stadtholder, flattered by the exalted alliance, would assist in the subjugation of the aggressive Parliament.

Princess Mary was pleased with the prospective marriage and admired the portrait of the Prince. But the Queen recoiled from the thought that a princess of the Houses of Stuart and Bourbon should marry the son of a prince who was not royal and whose office of ruler was elective and not hereditary. The fact that the title of Highness now used by the Stadtholder had been conferred by her brother Louis XIII. eliminated its value in her eyes. But as she realized that opposition would be futile the strong-willed Queen bowed to circumstance graciously, and told the ambassador from the Hague 'that her daughter, the Princess Royal, was prepared to receive the young Prince for her consort, that she professed herself his servant and that, when asked if she loved him, said, yes, since her Queen, her mother desired it, and that she wished that the Prince would come to England that they might meet.'

The terms of the marriage treaty provided that Prince William should come to England for the wedding, and that the Princess should remain in England till her twelfth year, that her dowry should be forty thousand pounds, that she should be allowed to exercise the Anglican Religion, and that she should retain six men and fourteen women servants at the Prince's expense, and receive from him fifteen hundred a year for pocket money. In case of his death she was to receive ten thousand a year and two palaces.

When everything was satisfactorily arranged, William set out for England. * As the dignities of the Prince of Orange were not hereditary, the rank of his son was doubtful, so in order to give him an assured position he was placed at the head of the embassy that was to accompany him. English courtiers observed the incongruity of the Princess Royal marrying a prince whose rank was heightened by his receiving the office of ambassador.

After a stormy voyage, William and his suite landed at Greenwich on 29 April, 1641. They were met by the Earl of

Lindsay on behalf of the King, and on the following Tuesday made a state progress to Whitehall.

They reached the palace at five o'clock, and William was cordially welcomed by the King and Queen. Princess Mary was not present owing to a bad cold which kept her in bed, but William, anxious to make her acquaintance, asked to be allowed to go and see her. He was taken to her room, and, notwithstanding her cold, the little Princess made a favourable impression, and her *fiancé* promptly fell in love with her. William was at this time fifteen, but precocious for his age, and as he had for several years occupied a seat in the Council of State, was conversant with contemporary politics. He was well educated, and could speak fluently in English, French, Italian, and Spanish as well as his native Dutch. Mary was only ten, but like all the daughters of the House of Stuart, wonderfully womanly for her years.

During the visit William's minister, Heenvliet, married Lady Stanhope, mother of the second Earl of Chesterfield, who was immediately installed first lady-in-waiting to the Princess. The wedding took place on 12 May, and William wrote an account of it to his father :—

'Your Highness has ordered me to tell you all I saw with the Princess, with whom I am much in love, and therefore I will tell your Highness all about it. At the beginning we have been a little serious, but now we are all very free together. I think she is far more beautiful than her picture, and love her very much, and I think she loves me also. Now I must tell you how I was married last Sunday, the 12 of May, and all that passed on that day. The ambassador came that morning about eleven to me. The Earl of Holland put me in one of the King's coaches, and conducted me to Whitehall, on the King's side, where he was.

'The King took me to the Queen's bedchamber, where the Queen-mother and the Princess were. After a little while I was conducted to the chapel, accompanied by the ambassadors. Then came the King, and soon after the Princess, who was led by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. The Queen was in a chamber, whence she saw through a window all the ceremonies. Then the Archbishop began to read the articles of

marriage, to which he made me respond in English, which sentences I had learned by heart. When that was read the King joined our hands ; after that I gave the Princess the ring. It was not a diamond ring, but a plain gold ring without enamel. When that was done I was led out of her chapel by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, and went into a chamber where I could hear the sermon. The Princess came into this chamber, led by M. Brederode and M. Sommelsdyck, and we were both placed in chairs, and were together until the sermon was over. Then I went into the Queen's chamber, where the King was and the Queen, and the Queen-mother. The Princess came there also. Then M. Sommelsdyck made an harangue of thanks to the King, which, having done kneeling, asked the King, the Queen-mother and the Queen, their blessing on me their son, which they bestowed. Then we dined—the ambassadors by themselves. At the King's table was the King, the Queen-mother, the Queen, the Princess, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York and me, and the little Princess Elizabeth. After dinner the Queen-mother retired to her lodgings, and the Queen went to walk in *Hay-parc*, accompanied by the Princess, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and me. The King remained in his apartments. After coming from our walk the King and Queen supped with the same party who had dined, save the Queen-mother and the Princess Elizabeth. After supper the King and Queen retired to their presence-chamber, where they remained till ten o'clock. Then the Queen took the Princess to be undressed in her chamber. The King and all his lords conducted me to another chamber, where I was undressed. The King led me, after I was disrobed, into the chamber where the Princess was in bed. The Queen and all her ladies were about her. After I had been some time in the bed I left it and was led to another chamber, where I slept that night. The King and Queen came into that chamber to see me into bed, and to wish me good night.

‘ This is all that passed that day.’

William saw the Princess every day till his departure a week later. On the last morning when he called to say good-bye to her, he told her that if she were not soon sent to him he would

come and fetch her. She gave him a jewel from her dress for a keepsake.

When the excitement of the wedding was over, the shadow caused by the disaffection of Parliament fell more deeply over the Court. Indeed, the occurrences of the year that followed Mary's marriage inaugurated the chain of events that culminated in the tragedy of 1649.

In the autumn of 1641 the Parliament passed the 'Grand Remonstrance,' which was practically a vote of censure upon the King's Government, and Charles retaliated by accusing five members of treacherous correspondence with the Scots. On 4 January, 1642, he went to the House of Commons with a band of Cavaliers to arrest the inimical members, but when he arrived they had gone, and Charles left the House in a 'more discontented and angry passion than he had come in.'

Thereupon Charles resolved on war, and as the Trained Bands of London evinced a preference for the Parliament, left for Hampton Court, not to return till he was led back to his execution, the first martyr to the creed of the divine right of kings. Emissaries from both sides set out to muster forces and civil war was inevitable.

The threatening aspect of affairs in England afforded pretext for Mary's hurried departure for the United Provinces; and as it was necessary for her mother to accompany her, opportunity was given for the raising of funds in Amsterdam and other wealthy cities, and also for persuading Frederic Henry either to help or to mediate. Therefore, on 10 February, 1642, the Queen and the Princess Royal set out for the United Provinces. A squadron of fifteen Dutch ships, commanded by Van Tromp, awaited them at Dover, to act as escort to the new Princess. Adverse winds delayed them till the 23rd; Mary was accompanied by her mother, and Lady Stanhope with her husband, Heenvliet, and her three children. Charles accompanied them to Dover, and after a painful parting mounted his horse and rode along the coast in order to see them as long as possible.

A storm arose, as it usually did when a Queen or Princess of England crossed the Channel, and more than fifteen hours elapsed before the fleet reached Flushing. They

sailed along the coast and landed at Helvoetsluys, where Prince William met them, and proposed taking them to Rotterdam by water, but as neither the Queen nor the Princess had recovered from the painful effects of the voyage, they refused to re-embark, and insisted upon crossing the Island of Voorne, and so reaching Rotterdam by land, except for the crossing of the river Maas.

They arrived at Hounslerdike on 1 March, and were met by the Prince of Orange, the Queen of Bohemia, Prince Rupert, and two of his sisters. A train of three hundred persons was in attendance.

After the greetings were over, the whole of the royal party entered a large state coach; the two Queens faced the horses, Prince William and Princess Mary faced them, and the Prince of Orange and the three Palatines settled themselves as comfortably as they could on the seats attached to the doors. The streets were thronged with cheering people, bells rang and cannons roared: pride in their Prince's exalted marriage outweighed love of democracy for the time being.

At first it was arranged that Mary should stay with her mother in the palace in the Stalder Straat, but William wished his wife to be near him, and insisted upon her being moved to the royal palace.

Before long the serenity of the royal family was disturbed by the jealousy of Amelia de Solmes, Princess of Orange. Amelia, herself the daughter of a German Count, resented Mary's royal birth, and also had the feelings for her that a plain middle-aged woman usually has for a beautiful girl. The case was aggravated, too, by the fact that Mary would take Amelia's place when Frederic Henry died, and that her influence would be opposed to her own democratic principles.

Frederic Henry's deference to his daughter-in-law made matters worse, and his practice of taking his hat off in her presence did not add to his wife's amiability. Mary had a truly Stuart appreciation of her dignity, and managed to seriously annoy her mother-in-law by insisting too firmly upon her own superior rank; as Mary Queen of Scots made a lasting enemy of Catherine de' Medici by referring to her as a banker's daughter, and Elizabeth of Bohemia offended Louisa Juliana by claiming

precedence, so Mary gained Amelia's ill-will by dilating upon the grandeur of the Princess Royal of England.

Another shadow was cast on the marital joy of the Prince and Princess by the attitude of the States of Holland; they openly favoured the cause of the English Parliament, and were consequently inimical to the Stuarts.

Henrietta Maria's attempt to obtain assistance in the United Provinces met with partial success. The Prince was ready to help the royal cause, but the States-General and the States of Holland were not. But with the money Frederic Henry gave her out of his private purse, and that which she raised on her jewels in Amsterdam, she was able to freight several vessels with arms and ammunition and send them to England.

On 29 March, 1643, she embarked for England; but a violent storm drove the ship back to the Dutch coast. Undaunted by this catastrophe, she started again as soon as the weather permitted, and on 20 February reached Burlington Quay in safety.

When her mother had gone, Mary was given her own establishment, and at the age of eleven was called to manage a large household of English and Dutch servants. Naturally, she sought the advice of those she liked best; although she was justly accused of favouritism and partiality, probably no able councillors could have been found than Louis of Nassau, Heenvliet and his wife, Lady Stanhope.

The Dutch were at war with Spain, and Frederic Henry and William were bound to spend most of their time at the scene of action, so Mary was left alone with Amelia, who did not fail to expatiate upon her disastrous tidings from England.

During the prolonged negotiations at Münster, by which the Peace of Westphalia was eventually achieved, two parties arose in the Netherlands. One was desirous of peace and a Spanish alliance, headed by Amelia; the other, under William's auspices, longed for war and glory, and a union with France.

As Frederic Henry was too ill to rule, the contentions between his wife and son were acute. Before anything was definitely settled the Stadtholder died, and by virtue of the Act of Reversion passed in 1631, his titles and offices devolved upon his son. The States of Holland and Zeeland, however,

wishing to demonstrate that the Stadtholdership was a gift and not a right, allowed a year to pass before confirming Prince William in his office.

Mary added her quota to the creation of dissension by encouraging her husband's desire for power, and by acting as Elizabeth of Bohemia had done thirty years before, in unreasonably claiming precedence. When her sister-in-law, Princess Louise of Orange, married the Elector of Brandenburg, Mary refused to attend the wedding, and subsequent festivities, because it had been asserted that the rank of Electress was higher than that of a Royal Princess.

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CHAPTER XIV

Amelia's chagrin and departure. Execution of Charles I. Dutch opinion. Charles II. starts for England. Warmly welcomed on his return. William desires more authority. Visits the cities. Quarrels with Amsterdam. His death. Birth of William III. of Holland and England. Mary's many difficulties. Buckingham. The Jermyn scandal. Quarrel with Charles. Gloucester arrives.

AS Stadtholder and commander of the forces William was in a position to achieve the authority and military glory his ambition required. Though unacknowledged his goal was kingship. Mary encouraged his aspirations and often said that 'she, who was the daughter of a King of Great Britain, and a granddaughter of a King of France, considered it a degradation not to be a queen.' Possibly with diplomacy, patience and tact he might have gained his wish, but chiefly owing to his wife's influence, he emulated the conduct of his father-in-law rather than that of his father.

Soon after her son's accession Amelia had left the Hague for Spa. She disliked her impotent position of dowager, and was chagrined at William's evident desire to break with Spain; gifts of land and treasure had grappled her to her country's quondam enemy with hoops of gold, and she believed that personal as well as national misfortune might accompany an alliance with France.

Meanwhile, in May, James, Duke of York, had escaped from England and found refuge with his sister at the Hague. His arrival brought home more keenly to William and Mary the precarious position of Charles I. William would gladly have helped his father-in-law with men and money, but the States-General, particularly the States of Holland, favoured the Parliament, and a promise of neutrality was the best the Prince could obtain.

In June the vice-admiral of England arrived with a fleet that had revolted from the Parliament, and asked James to take command. The offer was gladly accepted, but before the expedition had started the Prince of Wales arrived from Paris, and persuaded his brother to let him take his place. Before the Prince's departure a magnificent fête and a state dinner were given in his honour. At the latter Mary sat at one table with her brother and Palatine cousins and William with officers of the army and ministers of state at another; it would have been a breach of ceremony for him to have sat down to dinner with the sons of a king.

Charles sailed a little way up the Thames, and would have attacked the Earl of Warwick's fleet but for the advice of his councillors. He returned to the Hague in September and received a cordial welcome. The States-General offered him a house, but he preferred to stay with his sister. Encouraged by this courtesy he implored their High Mightinesses to help his father, but they would not be beguiled from their compact of neutrality; but the trial of the King and the imminent danger that threatened him caused them to send two ambassadors to intercede for the life of the royal prisoner. The envoys reached London the day before that fixed for Charles's execution, and having obtained an audience of the Parliament besought them to abstain from such an outrage to humanity as the execution of the King. But their expostulations were in vain, and only resulted in an increase of the dislike and suspicion with which the Parliament regarded the United Provinces.

In February Mary was prostrated with grief at the awful news of her father's execution. Both Prince and people in the United Provinces were overwhelmed with horror at the unprecedented event, and a wave of loyalty to their Prince and stricken Princess passed over the land. A few days later a deputation from the States-General and the States of Holland paid Charles II. a visit of condolence and addressed him King of Scotland. The government of the United Provinces and Queen Christina of Sweden were the only powers who ventured to acknowledge Charles king. The clergy also offered consolation, and in one or two sermons the execution of the King was compared with the martyrdom of St. Stephen: in this

democratic country the Stuarts were never more popular than in their hour of great affliction.

William's sympathy took the more practical form of lending the exiled monarch twenty thousand pounds and providing his followers with suits of mourning. Strickland, the ambassador of the English Parliament, was refused a formal audience by the States-General, and the populace demonstrated their dislike of his country's action by breaking the windows of his house, and parading in front of it shouting, 'Long live King Charles and the Princess Royal.'

With a remarkable lack of good taste the Parliament sent, as minister plenipotentiary to the United Provinces, Dorislaus, an Anglicized Dutchman, who had been one of the council that condemned Charles I. A greater insult to Mary and her husband and brothers could hardly be imagined; and the States-General further outraged the Court by receiving the regicide, and listening to his proposal for a league of amity between the two republics.

To allow such an affront to pass unavenged was beyond the patience of loyal Cavaliers, and the day after the reception some followers of Montrose assassinated Dorislaus. The murderers escaped, and the Court was constrained to offer a reward of a thousand guilders for their apprehension, to take Strickland under its protection, and give the Dutch ambassador in London a letter of credence to the Parliamentary government. It was intimated by the States-General that under the circumstances Charles's presence at the Hague was objectionable. The whole of the royal family and the Queen of Bohemia, therefore, went to Breda on 10 June, and festivities were given in Charles's honour. On the 29th he left for Jersey, William supplying ships for the journey, frankly at the bottom of his heart glad to be rid of his dangerous and expensive brother-in-law.

Early next year William and Mary went again to Breda, and in March were joined by Charles, whose expedition had been abortive. By permission of the States-General the Scottish Commissioners met him there; and after long discussions he decided to accept their cold invitation and hard conditions, and on 16 June he set out for Scotland, where he was treated almost as a State prisoner. Burnet says: 'He was

not so much as allowed to walk abroad on Sundays, and if at any time there had been any gaiety at Court, such as dancing or playing at cards, he was severely reproved for it.' After more than three months in Edinburgh, Charles led his army to Dunbar, where it was defeated on 3 September.

Particularly with regard to English affairs William resented the restraint put upon him by the States-General—it was an indignity not to be allowed to entertain his brother-in-law in his capital—and he resolved to increase his power as Stadtholder and eventually assume the crown. An opportunity soon arose for him to measure his strength with that of his most important province. After the Peace of Westphalia the States-General suggested that a certain proportion of the army should be disbanded, as the expense of its maintenance was very great. William consented, but the States of Holland, the province upon which the greatest part of the expenditure fell, requested a further reduction, and the States-General unwillingly agreed. But William refused his assent, regarding the demand for a greater diminution a direct blow to his authority as captain of the forces. Holland considered her rights infringed by being obliged to maintain a larger number of soldiers than she wished, and saw in William's tenacity a desire for dictatorship and monarchy. The States therefore issued orders for the dismissal of certain regiments; the Prince and the States-General sent a letter to remind the officers of the oath to the Prince as Captain-General, and forbidding them to disband without his orders.

The States-General, except the members from Holland, favoured William, and brought in a measure to the effect that a deputation should be sent to the different towns in Holland to dissuade them from the measure, and that the Stadtholder should appoint the deputies. Notwithstanding the ancient custom that unanimity was necessary for the passing of a bill, William chose his deputies, and putting himself at their head started for Dordrecht. The burgomaster out of courtesy to the Prince received the deputation in council, but when the councillors were reprimanded and ordered to pay their share for the maintenance of the full complement of troops, they were angry, and only prevented an open rupture by asking for

time to consider the matter. This was not what William wanted, so, as it was impossible to remain in Dordrecht till a decision was made, he proceeded to the next city. All the towns of South Holland treated him very much as Dordrecht had done, but Amsterdam took stronger measures. When the deputation reached Edam a few miles away, William was waited upon by the burgomaster and president of the municipal courts of Amsterdam, who explained that the city council would neither receive nor recognize any deputation from the States-General, but that if the Prince would visit the city alone, and in his quality of Stadtholder, every imaginable honour should be paid him. William, thoroughly angry, replied that 'he should come with all his company, and with all the qualities with which he was invested,' and immediately advanced to the city and demanded an audience with the council. This was refused, and he retired with unspeakable wrath.

After visiting the towns of North Holland, which treated him with contumely as those of the South had done, he returned to the Hague, where he related his most humiliating experiences to the States-General. He resolved upon vengeance, and decided upon a course of action similar to that of his father-in-law in January 1643, quite regardless of the disastrous effects of that deed upon its perpetrator. Six deputies from the States of Holland were summoned to the Hague, and on their arrival arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Louventine. (One of the deputies was de Witt, father of the future Grand Pensionary, who in consequence cherished vengeance against the House of Orange till his death.)

William justified his action to the States-General by citing the commission they had given him to maintain the union, and assured them that it was endangered by the machinations of those evil-disposed deputies.

Mary called on the burghers' wives and kissed their children to acquire popularity.

William arranged a more severe punishment for Amsterdam: an invasion. He instructed Count William of Nassau, Stadtholder of Zealand, to attack the city at midnight. The Count obeyed, but unluckily the army lost its way, and when it found the right road at dawn it was discovered by a courier

from Hamburg, who hastened ahead to warn the burgomaster, Cornelius Bikker, that an army was advancing upon the city. Bikker promptly mustered the city guards and ordered the gates to be shut and the drawbridges raised and eight ships to be stationed in the river. Therefore, when Count William arrived at mid-day instead of midnight, he found the city fortified and prepared for a siege.

William was furious when he heard what had happened, and wrote to Bikker that his late strange reception in Amsterdam had induced him to send Count William with troops 'to prevent the evil-disposed from thwarting the measures he found necessary for the service of his country.' The council of Amsterdam replied by threatening to open the sluice and inundate the greater part of the provinces. On receiving this letter, in spite of the advice of the Council of State, William set out for the offending city ; but his heart failed at the prospect of the devastation that would accrue if the citizens met his advance as they had threatened. He therefore withdrew his troops, and at the same time assured the council that he had entertained no evil designs towards the city. The council, equally anxious to avoid the disaster the inundation would cause, accepted William's peaceful message graciously, and agreed that his army should remain as he and the States-General decreed, till the termination of the war between France and Spain, and also that Bikker and his brother should be asked to resign from their office. William promised to liberate the six deputies.

Although William had gained this point about the army he had lost prestige and dignity by this escapade. To attempt to overcome by arms one of his own cities was unconstitutional and arbitrary, and his enemies imputed to him a scheme of plundering the bank of Amsterdam for the purpose of subsidizing the other provinces in order that they would help him to establish a kingdom, and also to assist Charles II. to regain his throne.

Chagrined by his failure to accomplish the *coup d'état*, and distressed by the frustration of his plans and hopes, William did not at once care to return to the Hague, so arranged to go for a hunting expedition, on the pretext of ill-health. While on his travels he opened negotiations with France and subscribed

to a plan for a war first with Spain and then with the English rebels, which was to result in the reinstatement of Charles II. and a crown for himself.

But his plans were abortive, for after a hard day's hunting he hurried to the Hague to see Mary, took a chill, which turned to variola, and a few days later, on 6 November, he died. In speaking of William's character, Davies says: 'The good and evil qualities of the Prince tended alike to ruin the liberties and happiness of his country. Brave, active, indefatigable, with a considerable portion of the strength of mind and talent hereditary to his family, he was only so much better fitted to carry into execution the measures his pride and ambition suggested. His person was well informed and agreeable, and his constitution healthy, though somewhat enfeebled by his habits of violent exercise and his disposition to excess in eating.' But William did not think his plans for the aggrandizement of his family would be inimical to the country; he believed in the mission of the House of Orange to hold the confederation of provinces together, and that the stronger the central power the less chance of disruption.

Mary did not visit her husband during his illness, as there was more than her own life to be considered. Death came suddenly, and the courtiers decided to keep the news from her till the baby should be born, but the plan failed. From natural intuition and from observance of the confusion that prevailed in the palace, Mary guessed that William was dead and insisted upon hearing the truth. Pain and grief unspeakable followed. A week later William III. of Holland and England was born and, clothed in mourning garments, was laid in a cradle draped with black.

Mary's grief and weakness and her small frail baby softened the hearts of the stern Dutch politicians, and messages of sympathy and condolence came from the States-General; but when her health returned and the boy became stronger, the signs of contention and strife appeared that were to last through the whole of her life and most of his.

The first quarrel concerned the choice of the Prince's name. Mary wanted to call him Charles after her father and brother, but Anne, saying that the name was ill-omened, insisted that

he should be christened William after his father and famous great-grandfather. Mary gave in with the best grace possible, and resolved to have her own way in the next dispute with her mother-in-law. Eventually the Prince was baptized William Frederic Henry. The Queen of Bohemia and Amelia were his godmothers and the States-General godfathers. The ceremony was conducted with much pomp, and the carriage in which he drove was surrounded by halberdiers. The States-General gave him a christening present of eighty thousand•livres, to which the States of Holland added five thousand. Mary's next act was to write to all the provinces to assure them that she was cognizant of the joy they must feel at the birth of a Prince and at the knowledge that the great race of patriots was not extinct, and that she hoped that they would express their satisfaction by conferring upon Prince William the offices held by his father. While the provinces were considering Mary's appeal another cause of dissension arose. The question of the guardianship of the Prince. There were three candidates. Mary, who asserted her right as mother, and cited her husband's will, by which she was appointed tutrix of his children. Amelia argued that as Mary was a minor she could not be guardian, and she herself, wise and experienced, was the proper person to bring up the future Stadtholder. The Elector of Brandenburg, William the Second's brother-in-law, based his claim chiefly upon his manhood; with an able and discreet uncle ready to undertake the guardianship of the boy, it was foolish and unnecessary to give him into the charge of women. After a prolonged discussion the supreme council pronounced that the guardianship should be divided between all three, but that Mary's share should equal that of the other two. The decision pleased no one, and the quarrels between the Princess Royal and the Princess-Dowager became more frequent than before.

Meanwhile the Stadtholdership and command of the forces had not been conferred upon Prince William. Since William the Silent each Stadtholder had left an heir capable of governing and fighting, but now the Prince of Orange was an infant dissensions arose as to whether he should be elected Stadtholder or not. The Court party held that as the dignity had been made hereditary in the reign of Frederic Henry, the Prince should be

assigned to his father's offices, and a regent appointed. The democratic party argued that it was absurd to make an infant chief magistrate and commander of the forces, and that a regent might refuse to surrender his authority at the proper time. The States of Holland pointed out that it was impossible to predict the kind of man the baby would become, and that by the aid of his English and French relations he might attempt to convert the Stadtholdership into a monarchy, if he believed the power hereditary. The actions of William II. in regard to the imprisonment of the deputies and the attack upon Amsterdam were cited to the prejudice of his son. At the instance of this important State a Grand Assembly was convened at the Hague, which after long deliberation enacted that, practically, all offices and authority previously held by the Stadtholder should be vested in the States-General, and that the troops should swear allegiance to it instead of to the Prince. Groningen, Friesland, and Zealand opposed the measure, as they believed that the safety of the Union lay in the Stadtholder, but they were outvoted.

With the States-General opposed to her ambition for her son, it was extremely foolish of Mary to quarrel with her strong-minded mother-in-law about his guardianship.

Apart from her personal qualities, which were great, Amelia was an important political factor as head of the peace party, friend of the merchant classes, and was respected by the democratic party for her patriotism. Mary, on the other hand, held her husband's unpopular opinions anent a French alliance and the autocracy of the Stadtholder, and was believed to be open to the influences of her own friends rather than that of the States-General. Presently it was averred that she would sacrifice her son and his country for the sake of her brother. The stricture was partially true, as Mary never recognized an obligation to love the Dutch, and believed that her son's prosperity depended upon her brother's restoration. Events proved that her theory was right, but in 1651 the situation was made worse by her dislike of Amelia and the Dutch and her extravagant presents to Charles. But circumstances were the cause of Mary's failures, not character. At nineteen she was called upon to fight the strongest powers of her adopted country for

her son and his just inheritance, and also to help her exiled and impoverished family out of her widow's dowry. Had she married a reigning king, Louis XIV. for instance, she would have been described in history as the most beautiful and exemplary of the Stuarts.

In 1651 Cromwell desired an alliance with the United Provinces and sent ambassadors to open negotiations, but as one of the conditions was that no English refugees should be permitted in the territory of any private property of the Prince or Princess of Orange, on pain of confiscation, the treaty remained unsigned. The Court party warmly favoured the English fugitives, and had the conditions been accepted, would not have allowed it to be carried into effect. The ambassadors, however, remained, and the populace, incited by the Court party, treated them with contumely. 'Every day,' says Geddes, 'the Princess Royal and her brother, the Duke of York, rode slowly past the ambassadors' residence with ostentation, pomp, and an imposing suite, staring at the house from top to bottom, in a manner to encourage the rabble, which her procession gathered up in its way, to commit an insult.' The result was that the ambassadors could not appear in the streets without being greeted with the epithets 'regicides' and 'executioners.' One day James encountered one of them, St. John, in the park; as the ambassador did not salute him the Duke snatched his hat from his head and threw it in his face, exclaiming, 'Learn, parricide, to respect the brother of your king.' St. John answered, 'I scorn to acknowledge either you or him of whom you speak but as a race of vagabonds, and own no master but the Parliament of England.' Thereupon both seized their swords, and only the interposition of their followers prevented a fight.

After this incident James was advised to leave the United Provinces.

It was probably as much this discourteous treatment as his interest in the welfare of English commerce that instigated St. John on his return to advocate the Navigation Act, which, interfering as it did with Dutch trade, led to a war between the two countries.

The war commenced in the spring of 1652, and lasted for two years.

Mary was glad of the opening of hostilities, as she believed that a national danger would make the Dutch wish to have the old system restored and the Provinces bound together by the appointment of William as Stadtholder and the Count of Nassau as Regent.

Meanwhile Charles II. had been defeated at Worcester, and after many vicissitudes had landed, disguised, at Helvoetsluys, and sent a message to Mary. On receiving it she hastened to him and established him in her dower-palace at Teyling. After a few days' visit the King went to Paris, but Buckingham, who had landed with him, remained behind, and evinced a too fervid admiration for Mary. Very soon a rumour was circulated that the Princess intended to marry the Duke, and both Henrietta Maria and the Dutch people were furious, and expressed their anger in plain terms. Charles, however, disregarded the report, as he knew that his sister's pride would prevent her from making such a *mésalliance*.

As Mary was the only affluent member of the Stuart family exiled Cavaliers were in the habit of appealing to her for aid, and being, like her brother, unable to refuse requests, she was usually short of ready money. Therefore, when Charles asked her to supply funds for a ship to be sent to fetch the Scottish regalia and other jewels from the Royalist stronghold Dunnotar Castle, she was obliged to ask an Amsterdam merchant to lend the money. The merchant hesitated, and in the meantime a rumour of the scheme reached England, and the fortress was besieged and taken by Cromwell's soldiers. Three of Charles's ministers were at this time at the Hague: Sir Edward Hyde, later Lord Clarendon, Sir Edward Nicholas, and Henry Jermyn, Lord Jermyn's nephew. In connexion with the last a breath of scandal touched Mary's fair fame. There was no truth in the rumour, and it probably arose from Jermyn's well-known reputation for gallantry.

Nicholas was at this time instrumental in causing a quarrel between Mary and Charles, by informing the latter that Heenvliet and his wife, Lady Stanhope, entirely managed the Princess, and that people only had to 'fool with Lady Stanhope,' or 'talk to Heenvliet,' to gain the Princess's favour. Charles wrote seriously to his sister on the subject, and thereby incurred her

anger. She wrote that his accusation was 'false as the devil,' and asked the name of his informant. Charles would not betray Nicholas and Mary was deeply offended.

Another favourite, Beverweert, disliked the Elector of Brandenburg and Count William of Nassau, and influenced Mary to treat them rudely. They were naturally annoyed, and the Dowager-Princess was thoroughly angry, and expressed her opinion of Mary's conduct freely, pointing out that the influence of the Elector and the Count were essential to William's appointment to the Stadtholdership. Charles also upbraided her for her folly, and she promised to amend her ways.

Hoping to end the dissension between his sister and Amelia he instructed the Earl of Norfolk to tell the latter that he was troubled about her quarrels with his sister, and that he wished 'to do good office between them, and dispose them both to such an union that common enemies might get no more advantage from their contests,' and that 'he would be beholden to Amelia for any compliance and indulgence on her part.' Norfolk conveyed the message, and the effect was precisely opposite from what Charles intended, for Amelia told every one that the King sympathized with her and disapproved of his sister. Mary was furious, and wrote to Charles, bitterly complaining of his letter to Norfolk, whom she accused of partiality; she disregarded his previous advice, and at the instigation of Beverweert returned to her old manner to the Elector and Count, so the dissension at Court was worse than before.

When her anger cooled, Mary regretted her quarrel with her brother, felt that everything could be put right by a meeting, and decided to go to Paris. The idea was deprecated by her Council and by Amelia, as her absence just then would be inimical to her son's interest, and also that to visit a foreign court without an invitation would be embarrassing and humiliating. Happily the Duke of Gloucester arrived from England in the midst of the dissensions, and Mary was quite content with his society for the time being. Although he was only twelve she found him a most agreeable companion.

In 1653 Charles sent the Order of the Garter to the Prince of Orange and to the Duke of Gloucester.

The war continued and the majority of the misfortunes fell

to the Dutch. Constant defeat caused discontent, and the people began to think de Witt and his party were betraying the country and to long for a stadtholder once more: the State of Zeeland proposed a resolution that the Prince should be appointed to his father's offices and Count William of Nassau made regent, and it seemed probable that the other provinces would agree to the proposals. But John de Witt, Grand Functionary of Holland and arch-enemy of the House of Orange, forestalled such an event by declaring peace, and so restoring his government to favour. Cromwell's terms created fresh dissensions in the States-General, for he made it a condition of peace that the Prince of Orange should be excluded from the stadtholdership of the United Provinces, and that no English rebels should be harboured by the Prince or Princess, on pain of the forfeiture of their personal territory. While the States-General were deciding, disliking the condition, the State of Holland agreed to it and concluded peace, the State being now so powerful that it could violate the union with impunity, and declare peace or war, and nominate ambassadors. The States-General deprecated the action, but were eventually unable to undo it. The Court party considered it too high a price for peace and prosperity, but were impotent to change the policy of the Government. Mary's rage and indignation were boundless, and Amelia's almost as great, and for once the two acted in accord, and sent a strong remonstrance to the State of Holland. It came to nothing, however, as Cromwell offered the conditions or war, and the Government dare not face the latter. The people felt for the disinherited little Prince and sang songs in his honour and hoisted his flag on public buildings. Had there been a really strong man at the head of the Court party another war might have been declared with the English Parliament, the object of which would have been the restoration of Charles and the installation of the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder. But the Court party was as usual divided against itself, and the Cavaliers too discouraged by failure to rise to the occasion, and, more than all, there was no strong man.

By the treaty with Cromwell, Prince William became little more than a private nobleman. His revenue was reduced, his household was decreased, his servants no more took their

oaths of allegiance to him, but merely made a promise of obedience and fidelity ; and a governess was substituted for a tutor—she was Lady Howard, Lady Stanhope's daughter.

It was further arranged that the Princess should resign into his hands two of her four palaces, and that the expenses of maintenance should be paid out of his revenue.

Thus at the age of four Prince William was deprived of all his prospects and all his possessions but the principality of Orange, and was maintained by a small income given by a hostile government.

CHAPTER XV

Mary travels in the Rhine Valley with Charles. Wishes to go to Paris. Letter to Charles. Leaves Hague for Paris. Returns to the Hague. States-General object to the presence of the English Princess. Death of Cromwell. William III. goes to school. Restoration of Charles II. Mary goes to England. Her death.

WHEN these arrangements were completed and Mary realized that for the present nothing could be done to enhance her son's fortunes, she resolved to visit her brother at Spa. When the Council endeavoured to dissuade her on the score of William's interests, she assured them that if anything more could be done for him it would be through the influence of Charles II. and his friends. As her opinion did not carry conviction, she privately instructed her doctor to order her a change of air; thus she obtained sanction for her journey.

She set out for Spa early in July, and found her brother's Court more than usually festive, as the Emperor had recently given him three hundred thousand dollars. Charles was delighted to see his sister. Apart from his affection for her, he had a tried faith in her generosity, and was certain that the present occasion would not fail to justify his belief. After Mary had been a month at Spa one of her ladies took an infectious fever, and the Court hurried away. Their destination was Aix-la-Chapelle. Soon after their arrival Charles and Mary were invited by the canons to be present at evensong in the Cathedral, and after the service was over showed them the relics of Charlemagne. Mary kissed the skull of her glorious ancestor, and Charles drew out the hero's sword, kissed it and measured it with his own.

On 8 October they went to Cologne, where they were enthusiastically received. After spending three weeks in seeing

the sights they decided to explore the beauties of the river Rhine. They set sail on 28 October; when they reached Düsseldorf, the Duke of Neuberg sent an equerry to ask if the King would address him by the title of Highness, and the Princess permit him to kiss her. (Royalty allowed no one of less exalted rank to salute them thus.) Both questions being answered in the affirmative, the Duke and Duchess sent a cordial invitation to King Charles and his sister. They were magnificently entertained, and Charles was treated with the deference due to a ruling sovereign, rather than to an impecunious exile. They remained at Düsseldorf for three days, and then sailed to Zanten, a town in the Duchy of Cleves, where they parted, Charles returning to Cologne, and Mary to the Hague.

Soon after she was settled in the capital, news arrived that Queen Henrietta Maria was trying to make Henry, Duke of Gloucester, become a Roman Catholic, and further, that the Prince resented her persuasion and had left Paris. Naturally, Mary wanted him to come to her, but the recent treaty had forbidden the presence of English royalties in the United Provinces, and a fracas with the States-General would be unwise in the extreme. She therefore asked Charles to invite his brother to Cologne. Fortune favoured her on this occasion, for Henry fell ill at Antwerp, and Mary, thinking with the Queen of Bohemia, that under the circumstances 'the Hogen Mogens would take no notice of it if they were not asked the question,' sent for him to Teyling. The surmise of the Princesses was right, and the Duke stayed for some months. Early in the next spring Charles wrote to say he wished to visit his sister for the joy of seeing her and for the replenishment of his purse; and Mary, encouraged by the leniency of the States-General with regard to the Duke of Gloucester, told the King he might come. But the States of Holland discriminated between an invalid boy and the exiled King, and upon hearing of the latter's arrival, sent the Princess the following letter:—

'MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCESS,—We are privately informed that King Charles, your Royal Highness's lord and brother, hath made his repair into the parts under the obedience of this State, and particularly that his abode is in the house at Teyling.

And albeit, we cannot in any wise believe, nor, according to the wisdom and discretion of the above-mentioned Lord King, expect that either he should arrive or dare to take upon him to resort to the limits of this State, and to be within the Province of Holland and West Friesland, contrary to the treaty of peace made last year with the Commonwealth of England, directly contrary to an express order mentioned in our resolution of the 30 July, and of the 2 and 4 of August in the year 1653, and in virtue of them, of our letters sent to your Royal Highness :—We have, nevertheless, for good reasons, and for a sufficient discharge to ourselves, thought fit to represent the premises to your Royal Highness, herewithal desiring and willing you, with all speed, to be pleased to inform and assure us of the real truth thereof; no way doubting, but praying and warning your Royal Highness to be pleased by all good offices and endeavours to help to hinder, and prevent that the forementioned Lord King do not repair within the power of their High Mightinesses. Whereon, most illustrious Princess, do commend your Royal Highness to God's protection.

‘Given at the Hague, this 18 of March, 1655.’

Fortunately Charles had left before the missive arrived, so Mary could truthfully say that he was not there, but her anxiety was so great that she wrote to Hyde that ‘the States of the Provinces of Holland had written her a very unkind letter in relation to the King, the subject of it being to desire her to let them know whether the King was there; for seeing it was against their treaty they neither believed that he would or dared come into their dominion . . . and that she had given orders to have it translated into English, that she might the better remember it, when may be *they* would not desire that she should.’

Soon after this the Duke of Gloucester offended the already irritated States-General, and was requested to leave their dominion. He joined Charles at Cologne.

Meanwhile Mary had taken a fancy to Hyde's daughter Anne and wished for her as a maid-of-honour. At first Hyde refused to permit his daughter to accept a position that would be too expensive for his slender resources; but when Mary offered to supply all necessary funds as a recognition of his generosity to her father and brother, the Chancellor was obliged

to consent. Anne, therefore, put her foot on the first rung of the ladder that led to her exalted marriage.

In July, 1655, Mary again visited her brother, who not long after her arrival wrote the following letter to the Queen of Bohemia :—

'Cologne, 6 August

'MADAM,—I am just now beginning this letter in my sister's chamber, where there is such a noise that I never hope to end it, and much less write sense. For what concerns my sister's journey and the accidents that happened on the way, I leave to her to give your Majesty an account of. I shall only tell your Majesty that we are now thinking how to pass our time; and in the first place of dancing, in which we find two difficulties, the one for want of fiddlers, the other for somebody both to teach and assist at the dancing the new dances: and I have got my sister to send for Silvius, as one that is able to perform both; for the fiddlededies, my Lord Taaffe does promise to be their convoy, and in the meantime we must content ourselves with those that make no difference between a hymn and a coranto. I have now received my sister's picture that my dear cousin the Princess Louise was pleased to draw, and do desire your Majesty thank her for me, for 'tis a most excellent picture, which is all I can say at present, but that I am, Madam, Your Majesty's most humble and affectionate nephew and servant,

CHARLES R

'To the Queen of Bohemia, my dearest Aunt.'

During the earlier part of her visit Mary was not well, but by the beginning of September she was sufficiently recovered to accompany Charles and Gloucester to Frankfurt fair. In order to dispense with the ceremony that they all disliked they made the expedition incognito.

During their stay at Frankfurt Charles went to Königstein to visit Queen Christina of Sweden. This extraordinary woman was then twenty-nine. At the age of six she succeeded her father to the Swedish throne; in 1650 she was crowned queen; after reigning for four years she became weary of the personal restraint demanded by her position, and abdicated in favour of her cousin, Charles Gustavus, Duke of Deux Ponts. Immediately afterwards she became a Roman Catholic and left Sweden for

Rome. She frequently travelled dressed as a page with only an attendant, but occasionally with great state, and was quite the most remarkable personage in Europe.

It was on her journey to Rome that she met Charles at Königstein. The interview was satisfactory; after the King had gone Christina said to her ladies, 'People say that I am going to Loreto to offer up a crown and sceptre there; I laid down these royalties in Sweden, but if I had another crown to dispose of, I would rather bestow it on that poor good King of England.' As she had acknowledged Charles king in 1649, had made a practice of drinking his health in public, had given him a magnificent jewel, and always wore his portrait round her neck, people supposed she was in love with him; when the above remark was circulated they were sure of it.

Although she spent some time with Charles and Mary, and with them visited the fair, no matrimonial alliance was arranged; possibly, although Christina was beautiful, accomplished, and clever, Charles felt that her eccentricities would be inimical to his hope of restoration.

On their way back to Cologne they visited the Elector of Mayence for two days and were entertained splendidly.

On 15 November Mary started for the Hague. She was taken ill immediately after her arrival; the Queen of Bohemia attributed the indisposition to 'deadly laziness' and recommended hunting, sawing pieces of wood, and gaiety. The entertainments she provided are mentioned in a letter from Mary to Charles, dated from the Hague on 16 December. 'The post came in so late to-day that I shall not be able to say so much at this time, because I go to the Queen of Bohemia after supper, where we play little plays; the Duchess of Tarente and Mdle. de la Tremouille is there, and in earnest 'tis no ill divertisement to see the passages between them and their gallants, for they do not, in my opinion, at all strive to hide their inclinations. The time is come that I must be going, therefore I humbly beg your pardon for this short letter.'

The Princess's depression had been increased by a misunderstanding with her mother. Henrietta Maria had been annoyed that her daughter should choose for a maid-of-honour Anne Hyde, the daughter of a man she, the Queen, disliked and

distrusted, and as Mary had refused to dismiss her handmaid a coolness had ensued. At length the Queen, who had been ill, desired a reconciliation, and wrote an affectionate letter, containing a pressing invitation to Paris and a hint that Louis XIV. might wish for an English wife.

Mary was most anxious to go, but her Council advised her to remain at home, as during her absence in Cologne Count William of Nassau had been made Captain-General irrespective of William's rights, and Amelia had become more popular than before. Charles also objected to the proposed visit. He was in the midst of negotiations with the King of Spain, and a visit of a member of the English royal family to that monarch's arch-enemy was likely to prevent the conclusion of the alliance. He therefore sent the minister Daniel O'Neil with a stern letter urging Mary not to go to Paris, and with instructions to Heenvliet to persuade her to abandon the scheme. But Mary was not to be coerced, and wrote the following letter :—

Hague, 29 November, 1655

'Before I try to satisfy you with my going into France, give me leave to tell you that, not without trouble I must complain of your usage of me in this particular, which I had no reason to expect of so good a brother; for I do not find by your letter that, since I came from Cologne, you have had any new occasion to think my going to see the Queen prejudicial to your affairs with the Spaniards; therefore if you had been pleased to have used me with that freedom which I have always desired, and you often promised me, and had spoken to me of this when I had the happiness to be with you, I should have made as little question to have satisfied you then as I do now whether I shall or no. . . . I beseech you first to consider how reasonable a thing all the world must think it in me to desire to see the Queen, my mother, which I have not done since I was a child; and next you know there have been ill offices done me to her Majesty, which I hope by my going quite to remove, as also to put it out of all malicious people's power to make me again so unhappy. Beside all this her Majesty has written me two letters, which I have received since I came hither, so kindly pressing my coming before the spring, because the peace being concluded, she says she does not know how

long she shall stay at Paris, and truly if I should deny her Majesty it were very barbarous of me. But I beseech you to believe that my going shall be done with all circumspection imaginable, though I must confess I do not see how it can prejudice your business with Spain. I shall acquaint the Spanish ambassador with it, and the reasons why I go ; for assure yourself there is nothing I would not do to show you the true zeal I have for your service. If I thought my being locked up all my life in one chamber could contribute anything to it, I would rejoice to do it this night. . . .

‘ All I have to do at the Hague is to settle my son’s domestic affairs, which I hope very suddenly to do, and then I must think of my journey to France, which, when you have a little more considered, I hope you will find the sooner I go the better it will be. If it had not been to satisfy you in this particular, I should hardly have written now ; for indeed, I am not at all well, and fear to grow worse.’

This letter was followed by one from O’Neil, in which he said that the Princess was ‘ passionate for the journey,’ and distrusted Heenvliet’s advice, as she believed it was inspired by Hyde, who she knew feared that she might be influenced by ‘ his enemy the Queen.’ A few days later he wrote that ‘ the more she was dissuaded the more violent she became,’ and that her doctor had advised her to go, and that she proposed to take seventy-eight persons in her train.

Mary’s letter, and O’Neil’s reference to her doctor’s advice, were too much for the kind-hearted King, who at once told her that she might start for Paris in March or April. Her pained reply drew from him the permission to start in the middle of January. Mary thus expressed her gratitude.—

‘ The kindness of your letter will make me undertake my journey with much more cheerfulness than I should have done w’thout it, for, believe me, I have no greater comfort in this world than yourself, which makes me still hope it will be in nobody’s power to alter your affection for me. I ask you many pardons for omitting to write last post. I had been most of the day speaking with Count William about my son’s business, and he and I do not comprehend one way ; but yet before I go, I hope we may all be agreed. . . .’

Unhappily, Charles omitted to tell O'Neil that he had granted permission for his sister's journey, and he and Heenvliet had, in consequence, incurred the Princess's severe displeasure.

Henrietta Maria agreed with Mary that the visit would not be prejudicial to Charles's negotiations with Spain, and, further, she sincerely believed that her beautiful daughter would be a counter-attraction to Marie de Mancini, and eventually capture Louis's heart and crown.

When the journey was definitely decided upon, Mary hastened to complete her arrangements. Count William of Nassau, Heenvliet, and Lady Stanhope were left to guard the Prince's interests, and overtures of friendship made to Amelia, who responded cordially.

During this journey Mary was under the espionage of agents of Cromwell and of de Witt, and it speaks well for her conduct that the only item of scandal they could report was that she evinced a *penchant* for Henry Jermyn, who wished to marry her. Meanwhile, arrangements for her reception were being made at her mother's Court. Lord Jermyn, Henrietta Maria's Lord Chamberlain, wrote to Charles :—

'There is great preparations and disposition to pay her all honors that she has cause to expect on her arrival, and to divert her during her stay ; the King and Queen-mother will go to meet her a league or two out of town, and in those cases, you know there wants no other company. The great balls and the masque are reserved for her, and much of the good company of the place resolved to pay her all sorts of respects and civilities, especially those more particularly related to you and her, as the house of Guise, Monsieur de Turenne, Monsieur d'Espernon, Madame de Vendôme, and divers others.'

The French royal family met Mary at St. Denis, and escorted her to Paris. She was given the rooms in the Palais Royal formerly occupied by Richelieu. As she did not care to place herself under too great obligation to the French Court, and knew the limitation of her mother's means, she insisted upon paying her household expenses herself.

Her beauty soon won popularity at Louis's Court, and Henrietta Maria wrote to Charles on 14 February :—

‘I leave to better pens than mine to give you the description of the arrival of your sister, the Princess Royal. She has been received right royally. She pleases both high and low. She has been to-day so overwhelmed with visits that I am half dead with fatigue, which will serve me for excuse, that I can tell you no more than that I am, sir, my son, your very affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA’

Every one was charmed with her, even Mazarin was extremely courteous to her, and the Duke of Anjou gave a ball in her honour. But Cromwell was jealous of the splendid reception accorded to Charles the First’s daughter in her mother’s native land, and one of his spies wrote of the visit unkindly, if with some perspicacity :—

‘The Princess of Orange is come to Paris to see her mother. What should occasion her coming in so unseasonable weather at this time of year, I know not, unless it be the hope the French King will fall in love with her.’

Shortly after her arrival, the Grande Mademoiselle, daughter of the Duke of Orleans, and cousin of Louis XIV., invited her to Chilly, as she wished to make her acquaintance, and who has given an account of the meeting in her honour :—

‘Queen Henrietta showed me her daughter, the Princess Royal, with the words, “I present you to a person who has a great wish to see you.” Mary then embraced me with affection, for one I had never met before. The Princess Henrietta of England was also with her, and her brother James, Duke of York. There were in the carriage besides her children, the Queen’s first lady, and the first lady of the Princess of Orange. . . . I led the Queen my aunt and her daughter through the great hall, the whole suitably furnished and decorated. The Queen of England seated herself on a sofa, and her circle was larger than it had ever been—all the princesses and duchesses in Paris were there. She dined in the room below, and it may be supposed that I regaled her and her family sumptuously. When she returned upstairs from dinner, the large circle, of which I spoke, surrounded her. Then the Princess Royal, Mary of Orange, talked to me without ceasing, saying how desirous she had been to see me, and how sorry she would have been to have left France without having accomplished her desire, for the

King, her brother, Charles II., had talked of me with so much affection, that she loved me before she saw me.

'I asked her how she liked the Court of France, and she replied she was well pleased with it—the more so because she had a great aversion to that of Holland; and that as soon as her brother Charles was settled in any place, she could go and live with him. The Queen said, "I have not heard my daughter of Orange converse so much since she has been in France. You seem to possess great influence over her, and if you were much together she would be entirely guided by you. . . . Do you observe that my daughter is not only dressed in black, but wears a *pouquette* [a ball of black wood or metal], because she is a widow, and has never seen you before? *Certes* her first visit ought to be in strict etiquette!" I replied that I was at a loss to see any necessity of her being ceremonious with me. . . . The Princess of Orange wore the most beautiful diamond earrings I ever beheld; very fine pearl clasps, and large diamond bracelets with splendid rings of the same.'

One of Mary's letters to Charles describes her life in Paris graphically: 'I have seen the masque again, and in the entry of the performances received another present, which was a petticoat of cloth of silver, embroidered with Spanish leather, which was very fine and very extraordinary; for the first present, I make no doubt but you have heard of it; therefore I say nothing of it. I was, since that, at a supper at the Chancellor's where the King and Queen and all the Court were, which was really extremely fine. Two nights ago the King came here in masquerade, and others, and danced here. Monday next there is a little ball at the Louvre, when I must dance; judge therefore in what pain I shall be. This is all I have to say, for I have been this day to the Carmelites, and, to confess the truth, am a little weary. I have forgot for three posts to send you verses of my uncle's [Duke of Orleans] making, which pardon me for, and for the dirtiness of the paper, which is become so with wearing it so long in my pocket.'

Although Louis's passion for Marie de Mancini had rendered him impervious to his cousin's charms, other princes had fully appreciated them, and while in Paris Mary received offers of marriage from Charles Emmanuel II. of Savoy, the Duke of

Neuberg, and Duke Ernest Augustus of Brunswick (who eventually married Princess Sophia Palatine). To them all she replied that she desired to be married only to the interests of her son. After staying in Paris for nine months, she felt she ought to return to the Hague, but as Henrietta Maria and Mazarin wished her to remain a few months longer, she probably would not have gone home till the spring had she not heard that William was ill. After hurried farewells she started for Holland on 21 November.

She broke her journey at Bruges, where Charles was holding his Court, and as good news of her son awaited her, remained for more than two months. She discussed English affairs, and witnessed French plays with her brother, and before leaving gave him twenty thousand pistoles.

She arrived at the Hague on 2 February, 1657, and was well received by the Dutch; but when it was rumoured that she disliked Holland more than ever, and would do her utmost to cause the peace between that country and England to be broken, she was regarded with suspicion and dislike.

As the palace of Breda was the personal property of the Princess of Orange, and in Spanish territory, a suite of rooms was kept there for the English princes, and when Charles was in Brussels concluding the Spanish treaty, James and Henry visited their sister there.

The summer passed without any event of importance, and in September Mary, William, and James returned to the Hague. After their arrival Henry Jermyn, James's equerry, came from Paris and renewed his obvious devotion to the Princess; and she, anxious to hear the latest news of her mother and sister, treated him with more friendliness than was discreet. At once a scandal was created by her enemies, and its growth was so vigorous that it spread to Bruges and Paris. Charles immediately wrote to expostulate with her for her folly in allowing an opportunity for scandal to arise, and ordered Jermyn to be sent to Bruges. Mary dismissed the offending equerry, and wrote the following letter to Charles:—

‘Now that you see how exactly you are obeyed, I hope you will give me leave to desire you to consider what consequences your severity will bring upon me; to justify any of my actions

to you on this occasion were, I think, to do as much wrong to both my brothers as my own innocence, since they have been witnesses to what some person's insolency has dared to represent unto you as faults. Therefore I will leave it to them, and only think of what will now reflect upon me, which, as I have the honour to be your sister, you ought to consider too, and not to make a public discourse of what can neither prove for your honour nor mine. I am so willing to think you, only try to what a degree my obedience is to you, that I cannot but persuade myself you will now give my brother, the Duke of York, leave to send for Mr. Jernyn back, which will not only stop malicious tongues, but give me that happiness of seeing you take a kindly as well as a brotherly interest in me: otherwise I shall consider you have absolutely abandoned me.'

James wrote in a similar strain, and Charles allowed him to recall Jernyn. But the scandal did not die, for in the *Grammont Memoirs* Count Anthony Hamilton has recorded for posterity the worst possible view of the episode.

A year later Mary visited Charles at Antwerp, and in March he went to Breda incognito to act with her as sponsor to Lady Hyde's infant son. In April Mary went to Breda, and by an act of thoughtlessness nearly caused a rupture with France. De Thou, the French ambassador, asked for an audience immediately after her arrival; she gave him an appointment for six o'clock next day. The Spanish ambassador heard of this, and wishing to forestall his opponent called at half-past three. De Thou was told the Spaniard was at the palace, and indignant that any minister should be received before the ambassador of the king, who was Mary's cousin, and who had helped the family, did not keep his appointment, but instead wrote and demanded an apology from the Princess. As she did not give it, but expressed surprise at his breach of courtesy in failing to keep his engagement, he complained to the French Government. Happily Henrietta Maria was able to modify his account, and cause him to be ordered to renew friendly relations with the Princess as well as he could without compromising his dignity.

In May Mary unwisely invited her younger brother to the Hague for the Kermesse. The English ambassador saw then-

and informed the Government, who complained to the States-General. Consequently the following note was written :—

‘The Assembly having been advertized that the Duke of York and Gloucester are come into their province, and are now staying at the Hague with their sister, after deliberation it is found good and agreed that the Sieur de Heenvliet, as superintendent of the court of the Princess Royal, dowager of the late Prince of Orange, shall be charged, in the name and on behalf of their Noble Puissances, to make known that their intention and resolution is that the aforesaid lords, Princes of York and Gloucester, with all their train and suites, remove from the dominions and jurisdictions of their said Noble Puissances, and also that they return no more.’

The princes went accordingly, and James joined the Spanish army at Dunkirk; after the great French victory he was reported to be a prisoner, and Mary in her distress asked Charles to come to her at Sevenbergen, under the erroneous impression that it was in Spanish territory. The States-General heard of her intention, and informed her that Sevenbergen was under their jurisdiction, and that if she wished to meet her brother she must do so elsewhere. The Princess was so angry at the constant thwarting of her wishes that she said she would not visit the Hague for a year. However, after having met Charles at an adjacent Spanish village, she forgave the States-General and returned to the capital.

Later in the same year Princess Sophia Palatine, future Electress of Hanover, and her niece, Elizabeth Charlotte, visited the Queen of Bohemia. Sophia had been forced by circumstances to live with her brother the Elector Palatine after he had put away his wife and exalted Mlle. Degenfeld to her place, and Mary, who considered that her cousin sanctioned the iniquitous arrangement by remaining at Heidelberg, refused to receive her. The Queen visited her niece as usual, and Elizabeth Charlotte, as she was too young to have been contaminated, was received with her grandmother.

The future Duchess of Orleans wrote in her *Memoirs* an account of her first visit to the Princess of Orange, which is quoted by Miss Strickland :—

‘My aunt did not visit the Princess Royal, but the Queen of

Bohemia did, and took me with her. Before I set out my aunt said to me, "Lizette, take care not to behave as you generally do. Follow the Queen step by step, that she may not have to wait for you!" "Oh, aunt!" I replied, "you shall hear how well I behave."

'When we arrived at the Princess Royal's, whom I did not know, I saw her son, whom I had often played with. After gazing for a long time at his mother, without knowing who she was, I went back, to see if I could find any one who could tell me her name. Seeing only the Prince of Orange, I said, "Pray can you tell me who is that woman with so tremendous a nose?" He laughed and answered, "That is my mother, the Princess Royal."

'I was quite stupified at the blunder I had committed. Mdlle. Hyde perceiving my confusion took me with the Prince into the Princess's bedchamber, where we played at all sorts of games. I had told them to call me when the Queen was ready to go. We were both rolling on a Turkey carpet when I was summoned. I arose in great haste, and ran into the hall, but the Queen was already in the antechamber. Without losing a moment I seized the robe of the Princess Royal, and making her a courtesy at the same time, placed myself directly before her, and followed the Queen step by step into her coach. Every one was laughing at me, but I had no idea what it was for.

'When we came home the Queen sought out my aunt, and seating herself upon the bed, burst into a loud laugh. "Lizette," said she, "has made a delightful visit," and related all I had done, which made the Electress laugh more than her mother. "Lizette," said she, "you have done right, and avenged us well on the haughtiness of the Princess."

On 3 September Cromwell died, and James set out for the Hague. He arrived on the night of the 22nd, and Mary dressed hurriedly and sat up all the rest of the night making plans for the future. At dawn the Duke set out for Flanders, where he had left the King and Gloucester. Four days later Mary and her three brothers met at a Spanish village near Breda.

Charles was anxious to obtain all available support, and in order to conciliate the Elector of Brandenburg and the Princess-Dowager he made an offer of marriage for Princess Henrietta of

Orange. The offer was received with satisfaction, as, notwithstanding her friendship for the democratic leaders of the States of Holland, Amelia was charmed with the prospect of a crown for her daughter, and the Princess herself had been in love with Charles for years. He was invited to Turnhout, and entertainments were given in his honour; but to his great annoyance Amelia refused to definitely consent to his engagement to her daughter till his restoration was certain. The accession of Richard Cromwell, and the apparent content of England, detracted considerably from the hopes of the Royalists, and therefore it was arranged that Princess Henrietta should refuse Charles's proposal and marry the Prince of Anhalt. The King never forgave this insult, and when, later, Amelia offered another of her daughters for his bride, he refused to entertain the idea for a moment.

Towards the close of 1659 Mary was called upon to make new arrangements for the education of her son. William was nine and ready for more advanced instruction than Lady Howard could supply. After much discussion it was decided that he should be sent to the university of Leyden. On 3 November his three guardians took him there, and the magistrates of the town and the heads of the university received him with demonstrations of loyalty. A month later Mary wrote from Breda to Heenvliet:—

‘Two or three days before I came hither, a hundred men from the city of Leyden came to tell me how well my son advanced in his studies. They made many protestations of friendship, which I considered so advantageous I could not refuse them, but thanked them very gratefully for their manifestations of goodwill.’

Early in 1660 Mary was troubled about the condition of affairs in the principality of Orange. Heenvliet died in March, so she was bereft of her wisest adviser. In 1657 she had been installed sole regent, and ever since the governor, Count Dohna, Amelia's nephew, had been trying to persuade the Parliament to withdraw their consent to her appointment. In order to secure her position Mary called Louis XIV., who was suzerain of the principality, to her assistance. A French army was thereupon sent to Orange, and on 25 March Dohna, in consideration

of a bribe of two hundred thousand francs, gave up the territory to its suzerain, and so lost Orange to its prince for ever.

Discord prevailed at the Hague: Amelia and the States-General blamed Mary for appealing to France; Mary blamed Amelia for her nephew's dishonourable conduct. But whatever the arguments, the fact remained that Mary, as regent, was to blame for the loss of the only territory over which her son ruled unconditionally; and her popularity lessened, for the Dutch felt that the loss was a national disgrace.

Next month all sorrows and discords were submerged in the great joy of the restoration of Charles II. When the consummation of his hopes had first appeared probable, Charles had gone to Breda, and when General Monk's invitation came, the States of Holland invited the King to embark from their coasts. He accepted, and proceeded to the Hague, where he was welcomed with kindness and splendour and entertained with magnificence. This remarkable change of front of the most democratic state is explained by a remark made by a member of the States-General: 'Whoever was King of England, were it the devil himself, we must be friends with him.'

On Sunday, 23 May, there was a thanksgiving service in the church for the restoration of King Charles; the next day he embarked. Before going he confided his sister and nephew to the care of the States-General, and assured them that he would do his utmost to promote the interests of the United Provinces. Mary took advantage of the wave of popularity for her family in pressing that the conditions forced by Cromwell should be withdrawn and the prohibition with regard to her son becoming Stadtholder removed. Not only was this done, but all the great towns desired to welcome the little Prince, and in June he made a triumphal progress through North and South Holland. Meanwhile Mary was longing to visit Charles in England. Once more his and Henrietta Maria's wishes clashed, and Mary was forced to choose between her mother and brother. The Queen wished her to go to Paris first and London afterwards, Charles wanted her to hurry to England as quickly as she could. After a great many letters the Queen gave in, and on 30 September, 1660, Mary set sail for her native land.

She was received enthusiastically by the people, who

regarded her as a heroine for her kindness to her brother and his followers. A month later Henrietta Maria and Henrietta Anne arrived in London, and a happy reunion of the royal family supervened.

Early in November an embassy came from the United Provinces to congratulate Charles on his restoration, and envoys from the States of Zealand were ordered to wait upon the Princess Royal with special assurances of their respect.

After another month of pleasure and adulation Mary was taken ill on 20 December of a horrible disease of which her husband and brother Henry had died. On the morning of the 24th she made her will, and formally retracted the unkind things she had said of Anne Hyde since her marriage with the Duke of York. At four o'clock in the afternoon she died.

She was buried in Westminster Abbey on 28 December by the side of the Duke of Gloucester. No tablet marks her resting-place.

Eventually William was restored to all his father's offices, and in 1688 was called by the Parliament to the throne of England in conjunction with his wife, Mary Stuart, daughter of James II. and Anne Hyde.



HENRIETTA ANNE STUART, DUCHESS OF ORLÉANS

(1619-1670) (1665-1670)

PART V

HENRIETTA ANNE OF ENGLAND, DUCHESS
OF ORLEANS, AND HER TIMES
1644-1670

CHAPTER XVI

Birth of Henrietta Anne. State of England. Siege of Exeter. Henrietta's escape to France. Grande Mademoiselle. The Fronde. Charles II. returns after the defeat of Worcester. Refused by Mademoiselle. Mademoiselle goes to war. Peace of the Pyrenees. Marriage of Louis XIV. Restoration of Charles II. Engagement of Henrietta to Philippe of Orleans. Her visit to England and return to Paris.

HENRIETTA ANNE first saw the light when darkness was gathering round her father's fortunes. The civil wars had begun in October 1642 with the indecisive battle of Edgehill, and during the winter the royal armies were generally successful. In February 1643, after a perilous journey, the Queen returned from Holland to Oxford with a loan from the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, and money raised upon her jewels. The brilliant victories of the summer and the acquisition of Bristol by Prince Rupert placed the Royalists in a position that, had the King been an able statesman and general, would have enabled him to make a triumphant progress to Whitehall.

In September Charles was defeated by Essex at Gloucester and retired to Oxford, where he remained on the defensive. Hearing of the possible agreement of Scotland and Parliament, he unwisely made an alliance with the Irish Papist rebels. When this compact was discovered it led to the resignation of numbers of Royalist officers, the defection of many peers, and eventually became a weighty argument in persuading the commons to sign the Solemn League and Covenant. In the spring

of 1644 the Parliamentary armies were nearing Oxford, and it was not thought safe for the Queen to await the birth of her child there. As she was suffering from rheumatic fever, she decided to go to Bath on account of the waters. She started on 3 April, and Charles accompanied her as far as Abingdon, where they said their last farewell. Finding the plague raging at Bath the Queen proceeded to Exeter, the nearest strongly defended city. Soon after she arrived and had installed herself in Bedford House, it became evident that Essex intended to besiege Exeter, and Sir John Berkeley, the governor, began to prepare for its defence. The united effects of anxiety and rheumatism had reduced the Queen's health to a deplorable condition, and both she and Charles, to whom she had written of her distress, sent to ask Sir Theodore Mayerne to come to Exeter. Charles's message, which was particularly urgent, 'Mayerne, for love of me go to my wife,' had the desired effect, and in spite of immense difficulties the great physician hastened to the bedside of his Queen.

Henrietta Anne was born on 16 June, and almost immediately afterwards information was received that Essex's army was at hand: further, it was understood that Sir John Berkeley was far from hopeful of a successful defence. The position was a most dangerous one for the Queen, as she was sincerely detested by all Parliamentarians for past gaieties and frivolities, and, above all, for her religion; and, knowing that her presence would jeopardize her baby's safety, she determined to leave Exeter. The prospect was fraught with difficulty, but the daughter of Henri IV. was not easily daunted. First, she appealed to Essex's chivalry and courtesy by asking for a safe conduct to Bath, but on receiving his reply that he 'intended to take her to London to answer to the Parliament for having levied war in England,' she decided to attempt an escape. After having received Berkeley's promise to guard Henrietta Anne with his life and given her into the charge of her faithful friend Lady Dalkeith, she slipped out of the city disguised, and accompanied only by her physician, her confessor, and one lady. Three miles from Exeter she was obliged to hide in a hut, and remained there without food for two days, often alarmed by the sound of Essex's soldiers marching close by.

She was once terrified by hearing some of them say 'that they would carry the head of Henrietta Maria to London, as Parliament would give them a reward of fifty thousand crowns for it.' As soon as she was able to escape from the hut she set out for Plymouth, but before she arrived there she met several of her household, who advised her to go to Pendennis Castle near Falmouth instead; and as a friendly Dutch vessel was in the harbour she embarked at once, and next day, 14 July, sailed for France.

A few days before the royal cause received its death-blow on Marston Moor, the King escaped from Oxford, defeated the Roundheads at Cropredy Bridge, and after a successful march southward raised the siege of Exeter on 26 July. He entered the city and made the acquaintance of his youngest daughter five days after her baptism. When he had heard of her birth he had ordered that she should be baptized in Exeter Cathedral, according to the rites of the Church of England, and the ceremony had been performed on 21 July, Sir John Berkeley, Lady Dalkeith, and Lady Poulett being sponsors. The name of Henrietta alone appears in the register. Anne was probably added later in compliment to the Queen of France.

While he was in Exeter, Charles appointed Dr. Thomas Fuller, the great historian of the Anglican Church, to be chaplain to Princess Henrietta, and also ordered that a certain portion of the excise of the city should be used for her maintenance.

Henrietta, who had been delicate from birth, now began to gain strength, and everything went well until August 1645, when Fairfax besieged Exeter. The blockade was close and food became scarce and when wintry weather was added to other discomforts and the starved citizens began to contemplate surrender, a flight of fat larks poured into the city, and the famine was stayed. The birds were so plentiful that they were sold for twopence a dozen. The accepted explanation of the remarkable occurrence was that the birds had been sent by special interposition of Providence for the sustenance of the brave defenders of the royal baby. During the siege Fuller, who records the advent of the larks, wrote some tracts for the Princess, and dedicated them to Lady Dalkeith. They were printed by the Exeter Press, and one copy bound in blue vellum

was presented to Henrietta, who gave special audience in order to receive it from the author. Her Royal Highness was enthroned in her governess's arms.

By April 1646 the inhabitants of the besieged city were again on the verge of starvation, and as no more providential birds were forthcoming, Sir John Berkeley was forced to capitulate. Mindful of his promise to the Queen to defend Henrietta's freedom, he made one of his conditions of surrender that she should do what her guardians advised, until the King's pleasure with regard to her destination was known. Lady Dalkeith was therefore able to take her to Oatlands, a dower-house of the Queen's, where she was soon joined by the household. Lady Dalkeith, or rather the Countess of Morton, her father-in-law Lord Morton having died, had supplied the money for the journey, and as the revenues from Exeter were no longer obtainable, it seemed probable that she would have to provide for the entire maintenance of Henrietta's establishment. Feeling the injustice and even the impossibility of such a situation, the Countess wrote to various Parliamentary generals and to the committee of the county of Surrey asking for the necessary funds. As these appeals were unavailing she wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons; and on 24 May an order was passed that Henrietta should be placed with her sister and brother in St. James's Palace under the care of Lord and Lady Northumberland, that provision should be made for her maintenance, and that all her attendants should be dismissed. Lady Morton promptly wrote to explain that she had promised the King not to leave Henrietta, and to request that she might remain with her, adding that she would 'bring such obedience to Lord and Lady Northumberland as she hoped would make her acceptable.' Receiving no answer the brave lady decided to act on her own initiative, and take her charge to France. She carefully matured her plans. The only person she took into her confidence was a French *valet de chambre* whose services she desired as escort. On 25 July she disguised herself in shabby garments, dressed the Princess in a tattered suit of boy's clothes, and set out attended by the valet, who posed as her husband. Henrietta, though only two years old, very nearly ruined their plans by her talkativeness. She disliked her ragged

garment heartily, and explained to every one they met that she was not a poor little boy but the Princess. Lady Morton overcame this difficulty by calling the child 'Pierre,' which sounded something like the infantile pronunciation of the Princess. At last the long journey to Dover was ended, and the fugitives safely embarked for France. When Calais was reached disguise was cast aside and royal state reassumed, for Queen Henrietta Maria had heard of her daughter's escape and sent a suitable escort to bring her to Paris. Needless to say Lady Morton was the heroine of the hour, and songs, poems and pamphlets were written in her honour.

The consternation at Oatlands when the absence of the Princess was discovered was allayed when a letter from Lady Morton was found, in which she told Henrietta's gentlewomen of her flight, and asked them to keep the secret for three days. As they kept faith the Parliament did not know that Henrietta was gone until she was safe in Paris with her mother, and then it bore its chagrin philosophically, reflecting that it would no longer have the expense of her maintenance. The King was thankful that his daughter had escaped, and wrote to express his gratitude and obligation to Lady Morton. The Queen was, if possible, more thankful, and determined to show her gratitude to God for the almost miraculous preservation of her *enfant de bénédiction*, as she called Henrietta, by educating her in the Roman Catholic faith. Henrietta Maria has been greatly blamed for this, but it is difficult to see why. She was a devout Roman Catholic, all her other children had been brought up in the faith of the Church of England, as Princes and Princesses of England, but now the situation was changed, the power of that Church was diminished, and the ultra-Protestantism which had been instrumental in depriving her husband of his crown, and in exiling her to France, was supreme, and she was now supported entirely by the generosity of a Roman Catholic Court; moreover, it was natural that she should desire that the one child left to her should be of her own religion. From a practical point of view also it was doubly wise: it pleased the Queen-Regent of France, and it would in the future open a wider matrimonial vista for Henrietta. The Queen said that Charles had given her permission to bring up their youngest child in her own faith,

and as Charles was always a kind and considerate husband, there is no reason to doubt that he did so. On reaching France the Queen of England had been given a pension and rooms in the Louvre and in the Palace of St. Germain. At first she lived in great state, but later, when the condition of affairs in England rendered it expedient that all available supplies should be sent to Charles, she and Henrietta lived very quietly.

About two months after the arrival of his baby sister, the Prince of Wales visited his mother in Paris, and at her instigation became a suitor for the hand of his cousin, the Grande Mademoiselle. As she was nineteen, handsome, and brilliant, and the richest heiress in Europe, and he a gauche boy of sixteen, with poverty and strife for his portion, the suit did not prosper.

Anne Marie Louise de Bourbon, d'Orleans, Duchesse de Montpensier, generally known as the Grande Mademoiselle, was both by birth and personality a very great personage indeed, and during the years that followed her cousin's arrival in Paris she realized her ambition and became a famous military commander and strategist. Her father was Gaston, Duke of Orleans, second son of Henri IV. and brother of Louis XIII.; her mother, Marie de Bourbon, Duchesse de Montpensier, a cousin of the royal family and a great heiress. Mademoiselle was born at the Louvre, on 29 May, 1627, and within a week of her birth her mother died and left her the vast possessions of Montpensier. The little Princess was placed in the charge of a good and pious governess, and given rooms in the dome of the Palace of the Tuileries, with an establishment worthy of a Princess of France. She naturally grew up with an exalted idea of her own position, and with an inherent conviction, not uncommon at the time, that Royalty were of different clay from other people. This idea, as Saint-Beuve says, 'dictated to her on all occasions speeches of the frankest and most naïve vanity, and imposed upon her sentiments that aimed at grandeur, and certainly did not derogate from dignity.' Although her early training and temperament made her a little vainglorious, and her sense of her own powers led her into verbal indiscretions, she was essentially a virtuous woman, and possessed a keen sense of honour; she never broke a promise or betrayed a friend.



ACADEMIE DE MONTPELLIER

1789

This last should be regarded as a particularly great virtue in the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, whose own sense of honour was a non-existent quality.

From her earliest years she had been vitally interested in what she called her 'establishment'; she wished to marry in a manner worthy of her position; she believed herself totally indifferent to the personality of her future husband, and said that it was indelicate for persons of rank to marry for love; she clung to this theory till she was over forty. As far as her emotions were concerned, all great monarchs would be equally acceptable; but from the moment of his birth, ambition pointed to Louis XIV.; he was born when she was eleven, and she explained to the Queen, who was fond of her, that she would marry him when he grew up. Anne of Austria encouraged this plan, but as Richelieu had other matrimonial intentions for the Dauphin, Mademoiselle was seldom invited to Court; although, as she grew older, other crowns dazzled her imagination, she retained her hope of a French one till Louis married. At the age of nineteen, when she thoroughly realized the value of her possessions to France, her hope of wedding the King was high, and the poor Prince of Wales, with his shadowy diadem, was clearly out of the question.

Soon after his unsuccessful essay in matrimony, Charles left France to command the Royalist fleet; and his mother and sister lived quietly in Paris till the rebellion of the Fronde in the summer of 1648 caused Henrietta, at the age of four, to endure the rigours of a siege for the second time. For in that year the insurrection known as the Fronde broke out, and while the Queen-Regent fled to St. Germain, Henrietta Maria and her little daughter were left in the Louvre, bereft of the common necessities of life.

In the afternoon of 11 January, Cardinal de Retz called at the Louvre and found Princess Henrietta in bed, and the Queen sitting by her side. It was snowing heavily, and there was no fire. 'You find me,' said the Queen cheerfully, 'keeping my Henrietta company; since we have no fire the poor child could not rise to-day.' 'You will do me the justice to believe,' wrote the Cardinal afterwards, 'that Madame d'Angleterre did not stay in bed next day for want of a faggot.' He pleaded the

cause of the royal exiles so eloquently in Parliament that forty thousand livres were immediately sent to Henrietta Maria. 'Posterity,' concluded Retz, 'will hardly believe that a Queen of England, and a grand-daughter of Henri Quatre, wanted firewood in the month of January in the Louvre.'

News of the tragedy that was being enacted in England travelled to Paris slowly, but rumours were rife as to the fate of the King. On 18 February, however, Lord Jermyn received definite information, and told the Queen of the execution. Her confessor, Père Gamache, says, 'that when she realized the truth, she stood motionless as a statue, and without tears. . . . To all our exhortations and arguments our Queen was deaf and insensible; at last, awed by her appalling grief, we ceased talking and stood round her in perturbed silence, some sighing, some weeping, so we continued to nightfall, when the Duchesse de Vendôme, whom our Queen tenderly loved, came to see her. Weeping, she took the hand of the royal widow and tenderly kissed it; and at last succeeded in awakening her from the stupor of grief into which she had been plunged, since she had comprehended the dreadful death of her husband. She was able to sigh and weep, and soon expressed a desire of withdrawing from the world, to indulge in the profound sorrow she suffered. Her little daughter was with her, from whom her maternal love found it hard to separate; yet she longed to hide herself in some humble abode where she might weep at will. At last she resolved to depart with a few of her ladies, for the convent of the Carmelites, faubourg St. Jacques, in Paris.' Henrietta Anne was left at the Louvre in the care of Lady Morton; had it not been for her small daughter, the Queen would probably have taken the veil.

The first function Henrietta Maria attended after her widowhood was the state entry of Louis XIV. into Paris, after the rebellion of the Fronde, in August 1651. She watched the festivities from the tribune of the chamber of St. Louis, and the contrast between the terminations of the two revolutions was painful: in England the king executed; in France called back to his capital by a loyal and devoted people. The Queen of England lived quietly at either Paris or St. Germain, and the chief interest of her life was the education of Henrietta.

Everything was done to make her attractive in mind and character ; consequently, when she appeared at the French Court she was not only the most beautiful and charming, but the most cultured princess in Europe.

In July 1649 Charles II., who had recently been proclaimed in Scotland and Jersey, visited his mother in Paris, and was seriously annoyed that his sister was being brought up a Roman Catholic, as he feared it would militate against his interests with the English people. He endeavoured to persuade his mother to allow Henrietta to join the Church of England, but the Queen would not yield, having determined to keep her *enfant de bénédiction* in her own faith. As Charles was unable to maintain his sister he was forced to submit to his mother's refusal as gracefully as possible. At the end of a week he left for the Hague, where he hoped to raise some troops. The English royal family suffered three more misfortunes in the autumn of 1650 : on the 3 September Charles was defeated at Dunbar ; on the 8th Princess Elizabeth died at Carisbrook Castle after eight years of captivity, at the age of fourteen ; and in November by the death of her husband the Prince of Orange the position of the Princess Royal was changed from that of a wife of a powerful ruler to that of a dowager surrounded with difficulties.

On 5 September 1651, Charles II. lost the battle of Worcester, and on 16 October he reached Paris after a month of perilous adventure. He was warmly welcomed by his mother and little sister ; though only seven years old Henrietta had an immense affection for her eldest brother. The Grande Mademoiselle also received him cordially. Instead of an awkward youth she found a man of the world with perfect manners, a king, if in name only, and something of a hero too. Charles retained his old love for his cousin and her gracious treatment led him to the inevitable blunder : he asked her to marry him. She may have liked him, she certainly pitied him, but to marry a penniless, countryless king while the glory of the crown of France still fired her imagination was impossible for the Duchesse de Montpensier. Her ambitious aspirations were thwarted, however, for having driven away the impecunious King of England she embarked upon a course of action

that ruined for ever her hopes of marrying the King of France.

The return of Louis to Paris in August had not marked the complete suppression of the Fronde. Condé had raised the standard of revolt in Bordeaux, and on the return of Mazarin to Court was joined by the Duke of Orleans and other princes and nobles. Hostile armies were soon marching: the Frondeurs commanded by Condé; the Royalists by Turenne. The city of Orleans was menaced by both, and the citizens sent to ask their Duke or Mademoiselle to come to their assistance. As Gaston was suffering from his chronic complaint of fear, and Mademoiselle longing to prove her military merit, it was arranged that she should go. Her joy knew no bounds; she spent the night in preparation for the journey. Next morning she appeared 'every inch a handsome queen and soldier,' her dress was grey covered with military gold lace, and on her head was poised a field marshal's helmet. Thus arrayed and followed by her staff she marched from the Luxembourg to the headquarters of her army. 'They were all in the field,' she wrote in her *Memoirs*, 'and they all saluted me as their leader.' After telling the generals to obey Mademoiselle as if she were himself, Gaston had added an aside to the effect that he must be consulted before her orders were acted upon; but this act of caution was rendered futile by the impetuosity of Mademoiselle. What the fair field marshal commanded, her officers immediately did; later Condé told her that Gustavus Adolphus could not have ordered the march better. On the morning of 27 March the soldiers thundered at the gate of Orleans: the garrison rendered their Princess military honours; the Government sent her bonbons; but the gates were not opened. When she realized that the provost feared to admit a hungry army into the city, Mademoiselle sought for other means of accomplishing her end. Followed by two ladies who acted as her aides-de-camp, she walked round the walls searching for a weak place where she might get in. 'I may have to break down the gates or scale the walls, but I will enter,' she told the people on the ramparts.

Her search was rewarded; some river men offered to break in a gate that opened on the quay. Mademoiselle thanked

them, gave them some money, and watched the proceedings from the top of a wine-butt. Under the eye of this maid of Orleans the water men worked their hardest; the inhabitants, anxious to admit the Princess without her army, battered the gate on the inside. A plank gave way, an opening was made, and Mademoiselle entered her city. She describes her rapture in accomplishing her desire in her *Memoirs*: 'As there was a great deal of very bad dirt on the ground, a *valet-de-pied* lifted me from the ground and urged me through the opening; as soon as my head appeared the people began to beat the drums. I heard cries, "*Vive le Roi! Vive les Princes, Point de Mazarin.*" Two men seated me on a wooden chair, and so glad was I, so beside myself with joy, that I did not know whether I was in the chair or on the arm of it! every one kissed my hands, and I nearly swooned with laughter to find myself in such a pleasant state.'

Next day Mademoiselle addressed the people, explaining to them that the Fronde was a rising of the princes and nobles of France to deliver their country from the tyranny of a foreigner.

Having acquitted herself so brilliantly as soldier and orator, she prepared to direct the government of the city; but the councillors did not take her seriously. They listened to her commands, ignored them, and sent more bouillons. Hurt by this lack of confidence, in spite of most flattering congratulations from her father and other great Frondeur generals, she found life a burden and longed for Paris. Disregarding her father's orders to remain at Orleans, she slipped out of the city, joined the Fronde army, and on 2 May reached Paris, where she was enthusiastically received by her adoring citizens. All her life she had been the darling of the Parisians, and it was gratifying that on the eve of her unexpected adversity, they should give her the greatest evidence of their appreciation. In the first exuberant days at Orleans Mademoiselle had sent a letter to a friend at Court, in which she dilated upon her military glory, and said quite plainly that she intended to marry the King of France, and that any one—no matter who—would be unwise to thwart her, as she had power to put affairs in such a state that people would be compelled to beg favours of her on

their knees. Henrietta Maria, still resenting Charles's rebuff, sarcastically remarked that it was 'very right for her to save Orleans like La Pucelle, having begun by driving away the English.' Queen Anne saw her letter, scoffed at it, and was extremely angry with her niece. The one thing required to absolutely alienate the royal family, was to actually attack the King's army, and this Mademoiselle did. Apart from the feelings of loyalty and chivalry that prompted her rash act, there was the underlying conviction that if she were a sufficiently powerful leader of the Fronde she could force Louis to marry her.

On 2 July the event took place that won Mademoiselle her glory and deprived her of her hopes. Condé and Turenne, after many battles, had reached the outskirts of Paris, and on the morning of that day Condé with a small force was wedged between the city wall and Turenne's army, now joined by the King, Queen, and Mazarin. Condé called upon the Parisians to open the gate of St. Antoine and save him. The councillors had sent to the Duke of Orleans for advice. As he would do nothing, the messenger went to Mademoiselle. After a futile attempt to persuade her father to give the order to open the gates, she went to the council-room, and, falling on her knees, implored the governor and councillors to save the Frondeurs. 'I had begged for an hour,' she writes, 'and I knew that in that time all my friends might have been killed, Condé as well as the others! and no one cared; that seemed to me so hard to bear!' Suddenly the idea came. The people, the proletariat of Paris, were outside; she could see the crowds through the window; they would obey her. Stretching out her hand to point to them, she turned to the governor and cried, 'Sign that order! or—I swear it by my exalted name!—I will call my people and let them teach you what to do!' The governor and the council signed the paper, and Mademoiselle flew to St. Antoine and ordered the gate to be opened. Condé, with the Frondeurs, who were mostly wounded, poured in, but the fight continued. Condé outdid himself in courage and bravery; he was everywhere at once. 'La Demon,' said the King's men; 'Superhuman,' said his own soldiers; a very human man according to Mademoiselle's *Memoirs*. She had found shelter in a house in the Rue de St Antoine. 'As soon as

I entered the house Monsieur le Prince visited me. He gave his sword to my equerry and said to me, "You see before you a despairing man. I have lost all my friends." Then he fell weeping on a chair and begged me to forgive him for showing his sorrow; and to think that people say that Condé cannot love! I have always known that he can love, and that when he loves he is fond and gentle.' The rear of Condé's army was being attacked by the Royalists, and unless a miracle occurred the Frondeurs would be cut to pieces. Mademoiselle saw the cannon on the Bastille, realized its possibility, hurried to the tower, persuaded the garrison to obey her, and in a moment the guns were turned round and fired over the heads of the Frondeurs at the King's soldiers. Thus she saved Condé twice in one day, gained much glory, and offended the King for ever. Once safe in Paris, the Frondeurs turned their attention to the organisation of a provincial government. Orleans was to be Lieutenant-General, Condé Commander-in-Chief, Beaufort Governor, and Broussel Provost. Unfortunately the mob set fire to the Hôtel de la Ville, murdered many of the councillors, and instigated a riot. As it was believed that the princes had connived at the massacre, the bourgeoisie and clergy refused to recognize the provisional government and determined to recall the King. De Retz himself took the invitation to St. Germain; it was graciously accepted, and on 21 October Louis XIV., victorious over his enemies at home and abroad, entered his capital, to the joy of his people.

The Fronde was now ended and its leaders scattered abroad. Condé had made an alliance with Spain, and Orleans, though trying to appear loyal, retired to Blois. On the day of the King's entry Mademoiselle was ordered to her château of St. Fargeau in Normandy, and to remain there for five years. Eventually she returned to Court, but Louis never forgave her for her part in the Fronde. The real tragedy of her life did not happen till after Henrietta's death. After several unavailing attempts to marry ruling princes, Mademoiselle, at the age of forty-three, fell in love with the Count Lauzun, a cadet of an ancient family of Perigord attached to the Court of Louis XIV. Having brought things to a climax by intimating her wishes to Lauzun, she asked the King to sanction the marriage. Louis did so,

but at the instigation of the royal family and the nobles, withdrew his permission, on the grounds that a Princess so near the crown could not marry a subject. Mademoiselle was inconsolable, but Lauzun bore the dashing of his hopes with fortitude. Shortly afterwards, however, he was arrested and sent to prison at Pignerol, a misfortune he did not bear stoically. The cause of his capture was usually supposed to have been an insult offered to Madame de Montespan. During his imprisonment Mademoiselle lived only to obtain her lover's freedom. After ten years, having given much of her property to Louis's illegitimate son, the Duc de Maine, and promised to bequeath him more, she gained her desire and Lauzun was liberated. His conduct to her on his return was most offensive. First he upbraided her with having parted with her money, and assured her that Louis would have freed him without it, and then insulted her by the manner of his life. After a violent quarrel they parted for ever, and Mademoiselle was left to live twelve weary years a sad and, owing to the remarkable change in the social customs, isolated existence. She died at the Luxembourg in March 1693. It is not definitely known whether she and Lauzun were secretly married before his imprisonment, but it is generally supposed that they were.

When peace was restored the Court became gay, and the two queens-dowager, growing more and more intimate, desired that Louis should marry Henrietta. Anne of Austria told Henrietta Maria that, excepting his own nieces, she would rather her son married Henrietta, notwithstanding her poverty, than any princess in Europe. At the age of nine Henrietta is said to have possessed the gift of winning hearts. She had been carefully educated, and the pride of birth that she inherited was repressed by the life that she led at the convent at Chaillot. This convent, which was established by Henrietta Maria in 1652, has entirely vanished, the Trocadore now occupying the site.

In February 1654 Henrietta made her first appearance in public at a ball given by Mazarin on the occasion of the marriage of his niece, Anne Martinozze, with the Prince of Conti, where she charmed every one. A little later she took part with Louis and his brother Philippe in a ballet, *Peleus*

and *Thetis*, and gained a small triumph. One afternoon Queen Anne gave a party in her honour. Louis asked Mazarin's niece, Laura, Duchesse de Mercoeur, to dance with him. The Queen interposed, and told him that he must ask his cousin. He replied that he did not like little girls. He was at that time sixteen and looked much older. Henrietta Maria saved the situation by saying that the Princess had hurt her ankle and could not dance. The consequence was that neither the King nor his cousin danced at all.

As Louis did not like little girls, and Mazarin disapproved of the idea of an alliance with the exiled Stuarts, there was no probability of the Queen of England's hopes being realized, but Henrietta, who had probably never studied life from a matrimonial aspect, was quite happy, and thoroughly enjoyed all the Court functions that she was allowed to attend. In June 1655 she with her mother and two of her brothers went to Rheims to attend the coronation of Louis XIV. In the following year Mary of Orange came to Paris, and the visit was the occasion of more than usual magnificence, and Henrietta experienced for the first time the whirl of gaiety, so dear to the heart of the Grand Monarque.

At about this time Louis fell in love with Marie Mancini, and wished to make her Queen of France. Anne of Austria, however, refused her consent to such an unsuitable union, although he implored it on his knees. Mazarin, far too astute to oppose the Queen in such a personal matter, sent his niece away, and opened negotiations for a marriage with the Duke of Savoy's sister. The match was broken off at the eleventh hour because the Spanish envoy arrived with an offer of the hand of the Infanta. As he did not care for Princess Margaret, the King willingly renounced her. The Duke avenged the insult later by treating with contumely Louis's offer of the hand of the Grande Mademoiselle. The combined armies of France and England had broken the power of Spain, and all Europe longed for peace. By a treaty, known as the Peace of the Pyrenees, the long war was ended, and by a marriage between the King of France and the Infanta of Spain, these inimical countries united in amity.

The wedding of Louis and Marie Thérèse was solemnized

in June 1661, and one of the items of the treaty was that the bride should renounce her right to her father's crown. French diplomacy made the renunciation depend upon the payment by Spain of certain sums of money at a given date. As the country was too poor to keep this part of the contract, the French Government assumed that Marie Thérèse's renunciation was invalid, and the claim of Louis to the throne of Spain formed the corner-stone of European politics for the next half century.

On September 3, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, and his son Richard ruled in his stead; the people being persuaded that he would be made the 'healer of the breaches,' submitted peaceably to his authority. His pacific character did not, however, appeal to the army; officers as well born, well educated, and intrepid as Oliver felt themselves more worthy to wear the purple than the mild young man, whom they nicknamed 'Queen Richard.' A coalition was formed between them and the Republican minority of the House of Commons, which set aside the new Protector, and declared that there should be no first magistrate and no House of Lords. As the breach widened between the Presbyterian Parliament and the Independent army, the Royalists took heart again. The country, weary of the military tyranny, and fearing that greater evils might come with a democratic government, desired its rightful king. The princes of the House of Stuart had seen the danger of autocracy; ambitious commoners the possibilities of self-aggrandizement. The government of Charles II. would probably be constitutional; that of a protector raised to power by military revolutions, certainly despotic.

Loyalty became the prevailing enthusiasm, and in April 1660 Charles was invited to return. He reached London on 25 May, and was rapturously received by his people. 'It is my own fault,' he remarked, with characteristic irony, 'that I had not come back sooner; for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return.'

No one's position was more changed by the Restoration than that of Henrietta; before it a poor, proud princess utterly despised from a matrimonial point of view, after it a well-dowered sister of the reigning sovereign and the desired of all

marriageable princes, particularly of Louis the Fourteenth's brother Philippe.

All Paris congratulated Henrietta Maria upon her change of fortune, and festivities were given in her honour. When a state ball was opened by Monsieur and Henrietta, the Court had no doubt as to whom the new Madame would be.

On 25 August Henrietta Maria wrote to tell Charles II. that Anne of Austria had called upon her on behalf of Louis, to request that 'she would honour Monsieur by giving him her daughter in marriage,' and added that she 'hoped he would approve of the marriage, as Henrietta was not at all displeased about it, and Monsieur violently in love.'

Philippe of France, created Duc d'Orleans by his brother on the death of Gaston in 1660, was far from being an ornament to the House of Bourbon. His mother, who had seen the evil that arises from plots instigated by the King's brother, resolved that Louis should not suffer from Philippe's rivalry or antagonism. Accordingly she brought up her younger son as if he had been her daughter. Manly sports were discouraged and feminine arts inculcated. He developed a love of dress and pretty things worthy of a lady of the Second Empire, and even enhanced the brilliancy of his complexion by artificial means. His chief joy in Court functions was that he could display himself in gorgeous robes, and if the rain or any catastrophe disarranged his costume he was inconsolable. His effeminate training not only made him ridiculous in small things but weakened his character, and rendered him open to any influence that the unscrupulous chose to exert. In 1660 his faults of mind and character were not developed, and to Henrietta he appeared a pleasant good-looking boy who was very much in love with her; and as far as she comprehended the emotion she was very much in love with him.

Naturally when Henrietta's engagement was announced all the poets in France wrote odes to her, and the courtiers discovered charms and virtues to which they had hitherto been blind. An enthusiastic description of her was written by Madame de Bregis, one of the *précieuses*.

As soon as the marriage was definitely arranged, Henrietta Maria decided to take her daughter to England. The princess

was overjoyed at the idea, but painful memories were awakened in the mind of the Queen, and the death of the Duke of Gloucester added to her distress.

They left Paris on 19 October, reached Calais on the 26th, sailed on the 28th for England. The Duke of York, High Admiral, came to meet his mother with the whole fleet, guns were fired for more than half an hour. 'On approaching Dover,' says Père de Gamaches, who was in attendance, 'the King came to meet the Queen, his mother; the respect, the attention, and all the testimonies of perfect joy which he paid to her, may be better imagined than described! In this excess of joy, and in delightful conversation, the ships advanced and arrived at Dover, where the King had prepared festivities of extraordinary magnificence for his honoured mother and for the Princess, his sister, and for all their retinue, whose expenses he defrayed.'

When the gaieties at Dover were ended they set out for London. They found Princess Mary of Orange awaiting them at Whitehall, and, for the first time in their lives, the royal family were united.

Parliament voted pensions to the Queen and the two princesses, and the Speaker called to apprize them of the happy fact. The Queen and the Princess Royal expressed their gratitude to the House in a formal and correct manner; but Henrietta having spoken her thanks in the best English she could muster, added that she 'lamented that she could not do it well in the English tongue, but desired to supply the deficiency with an English heart.' Needless to say, the heart of the Parliament was hers from that moment.

The marriage treaty was immediately arranged. The English Parliament gave Henrietta forty thousand jacobuses, and Charles added another twenty thousand. The King of France and Monsieur agreed to give her forty thousand livres a year and the château of Montagis handsomely furnished for a private residence.

Every one was charmed with the idea of the marriage, and compliments of the most courteous character were exchanged by the two kings. Henrietta's praises were sung all over Europe. While final arrangements for the wedding were being made,

envoys came from the Emperor, the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy, with proposals of marriage for the beautiful Princess, but neither she nor Charles would hear of any alliance but the French one. Probably Henrietta was never happier than during this visit to England: the people adored her, the Court flattered her, books were dedicated to her, and Charles arranged everything for her pleasure. She was not spoilt by all this adulation, but enjoyed it with light-hearted simplicity. In the midst of all this brightness a heavy shadow fell; the Princess Royal contracted the horrible disease which after a few days proved fatal. The Queen was in despair, grief for her elder, and anxiety for her younger daughter, made her wish to leave England, and on 2 January, a week after the funeral, she and Henrietta set sail for France. The Duke of Buckingham, having fallen in love with Henrietta, persuaded Charles to allow him to accompany her to Paris. His unrestrained and indiscreet admiration was most unwelcome, as the future wife of the heir-presumptive of France had the greatest objection to being compromised by one of her brother's subjects. Soon more serious dangers were encountered. The wind changed and the ship was driven on to a sandbank and nearly wrecked, and when this peril was passed and the vessel under way, Henrietta became very ill, and some thought that her illness was the same that had been fatal to her brother and sister. She was taken to Portsmouth, where the doctors found that she was suffering from measles. Happily, as she firmly refused to let the Court physician, whom Charles had sent on hearing of her illness, bleed her, she recovered, and on 25 January she was well enough to embark again. This time the journey was accomplished without adventure, though the Duke of Buckingham's indiscreet aspirations led to a request from Henrietta for his recall.

When they reached Pontoise they were met by the King, Queen of France, Queen-Dowager, and Monsieur. Louis treated Henrietta with great kindness, and Philippe was in a state of joyful excitement at seeing her again. The French royalties returned to the capital, and Monsieur came back to Pontoise next day to escort the Queen and Princess to Paris, where they were received by the whole of the royal family and

the nobility, who afterwards conducted them to the Palais Royal.

As soon as the visits of congratulation from the royal family had been returned, the Queen of England and Henrietta retired to Chaillot to await final arrangements, and the Papal dispensation for a marriage of first cousins. After some delay, the dispensation arrived in Lent. It was suggested that the marriage should be postponed till after Easter, but Philippe would no longer wait for his bride, and 31 March was fixed for the wedding. On that day, therefore, H.R.H. Princess Henrietta Anne of England was married to Philippe of France, Duc d'Orleans, in the chapel of the Palais Royal, by Cosnac, Bishop of Valance, in the presence of the King, Queen, and Queen-Dowager of France, the Queen of England, and all the French princes and nobles.

With golden prospects, young, happy, and in love, it seemed that Madame de Bregis's wish would be fulfilled, and fortune give Henrietta the greatest of earth's glories.

CHAPTER XVII

Henrietta's wedding. Friendship with Louis. De Guiche. Henrietta enters the arena of international politics. Monsieur offensive. Henrietta's interest in literature. Death of Anne of Austria. Chevalier de Lorraine.

HENRIETTA remained at the Palais Royal with her mother for some days after the wedding, and when she left to join her husband at the Tuileries, her farewells were said amidst a storm of tears; the Queen was so overcome at parting with her *enfant de bénédiction* that she retired to the convent at Colombes. Madame's grief was, however, soon assuaged by the pleasures of her new position. Magnificent festivities were held in her honour, and owing to the illness of Marie Thérèse she became the leader of the Court, and her natural tact and charm enabled her to play the part to perfection.

Now that the restraint of her mother's discipline and the limitations of poverty were removed, Henrietta's character developed rapidly; and before long she showed her excellence not only in grace and courtesy, but in intellect and culture. People hardly recognized in the gay and brilliant Madame the quiet little princess whom they had regarded as beautiful but uninteresting. Her entertainments were the most popular in Paris, and it has been said that 'all the men were at her feet, and all the women adored her.' Amongst the former were Condé, Turenne, Molière, Racine, La Rochefoucauld, La Fontaine, and Bossuet, and amongst the latter the Princesse de Monaco, the Marquise de Sablé, the Comtesse de La Fayette, and Madame de Sévigné.

The most remarkable of her conquests, however, was that of the King. In her childhood he had not liked her; when at last he realized her perfections he atoned for his past indifference by the intensity of his admiration. Madame de La Fayette,

Henrietta's friend and biographer, gives an account of this strange friendship: 'Madame . . . thought only of pleasing the King as a sister-in-law. I think she pleased him in another way; I think she thought he pleased her as a brother-in-law, though, perhaps, he pleased her much more; in short, as they were both infinitely charming, and both were born with dispositions to gallantry, and as they both saw each other daily in the midst of pleasure and diversions, it appeared to the eyes of every one that they felt for each other that attraction that usually precedes great passions.'

That each was suffering from matrimonial disillusion was a strong bond of union. The quiet religious Queen, incapable of taking an intelligent interest in Louis's political aspirations, or of adapting herself to his many moods, was naturally tedious as a companion; and Henrietta's happiness was marred by the realization that her husband's failings increased, and his affection for her decreased every day. Seeing in each other the intellectual qualities they desired, and which both Marie Thérèse and Monsieur lacked, the mutual attraction of the King and Madame was inevitable. The scenery of Fontainebleau and the life there threw a glamour of romance over their intercourse. 'It was the middle of summer,' says Madame de La Fayette, 'Madame went to bathe every day; she started in a coach on account of the heat, and returned on horseback, followed by all her ladies gracefully dressed, with many feathers on their heads, and accompanied by the King and all the young nobles of the Court. After supper they entered *calèches*, and to the music of the violins, drove for a part of the night around the canal.'

Presently the spell was broken. Marie Thérèse became jealous and confided her trouble to Anne of Austria, who straightway remonstrated with her erring son. Louis was uneasy at the idea of scandal, and determined to avert it, and at the same time continue his pleasant friendship. He therefore resorted to subterfuge, and pretended that his visits to Madame's Court were for the *beaux yeux* of one of her maids-of-honour, Louise de La Vallière. The plan was, from Madame's point of view, far from successful. No one believed that Louis was attracted by any one else, whereas in actual fact the gentle sweetness of La Vallière, and her pathetic blue eyes, had

inspired him with a passion compared with which his love for Henrietta was but a placid emotion. She therefore had to bear the brunt of the Queen's jealousy and dislike, and the chagrin of seeing Louis's affection withdrawn from herself and given to her maid-of-honour. Although in his eyes Madame's charm had been eclipsed, he retained his admiration for her intellect and judgment, and often consulted her on affairs of State.

When Mazarin died in March 1661, Louis assumed the entire government of France; he resolved to fill Mazarin's vacant place, and by uniting the power of the Crown and that of the Minister in his own person, make his authority supreme. Although only twenty-three, and not at all well educated, he accomplished his ambition, and by sheer industry, tenacity, and force of will, created the one great absolute monarchy of modern Europe.

'No Sovereign,' says Macaulay, 'has ever represented the majesty of a great state with more dignity and grace. He was his own prime minister, and performed the duties of a prime minister with an ability and industry which could not be reasonably expected from one who had in infancy succeeded to a Crown, and who had been surrounded by flatterers before he could speak. He had shown in an eminent degree two talents invaluable to a Prince, the talent of choosing his servants well, and the talent of appropriating to himself the chief part of the credit of their acts. In his dealings with foreign powers he had some generosity but no justice. To unhappy allies who threw themselves at his feet, and had no hope but in his compassion, he extended his protection with a romantic disinterestedness, which seemed better suited to a knight-errant than to a statesman. But he broke through the most sacred ties of public faith without scruple or shame, whenever they interfered with his interests, or what he called his glory. His perfidy and violence, however, excited less enmity than the insolence with which he constantly reminded his neighbours of his own greatness and their littleness. He did not at this time profess the austere devotion which at a later period gave the Court the aspect of a monastery. On the contrary, he was as licentious, though by no means as frivolous, as his

indolent brother of England. But he was a sincere Roman Catholic ; and both his conscience and his vanity impelled him to use his power for the defence and propagation of the true faith, after the example of his renowned predecessors, Clovis, Charlemagne, and Saint Louis.'

The Fronde had instilled into Louis's mind a dread of the military strength of the nobles ; he endeavoured, therefore, by an obvious preference for men who excelled in courtly graces rather than martial prowess, to form an aristocracy totally unlike that which produced the Frondeurs. The task would have been impossible had not the salon created by Madame Rambouillet already shown the value of the courtesies of life. In speaking of the influence of the salon on the Court, Madame Arvede Barine says, 'When Louis saw fit . . . to turn his nobles into peaceful courtiers . . . he found that his work had all been done ; . . . all the warriors had turned to knights of the carpet ; their swords were wreathed with roses, and every man sat in a perfumed bower, busily employed in making sonnets to his mistresses' eyebrow.'

Louis had the art of completely occupying his days, and in spite of the hours spent over the affairs of State, he always had ample time to enjoy the never-ceasing whirl of festivities, and Madame was always at hand to enhance their brilliancy. If Louis found work no impediment to amusement, she treated ill-health in the same spirit. When she returned to Paris after her marriage she was ordered by her doctor to keep her bed. She did, but arrayed in dainty *négligé* received every one, and on one occasion had a ballet performed in her room. As soon as she was well enough to go out, she plunged once more into the vortex of the Court gaieties.

Naturally, Henrietta, 'l'idol de la cour' et la muse des écrivains et des artistes,' received an immense amount of admiration and adoration from the officers back from the war. The only one, however, who made the least impression upon her was Armand, Comte de Guiche, brother of her great friend the Princesse de Monaco, son of the Maréchal de Grammont, nephew of the celebrated Chevalier de Grammont, and of Madame de Saint Chaumont, the handsomest and most brilliant soldier at Court. He fell in love with Henrietta shortly after

her marriage, but during the King's infatuation dissembled his emotion, although he met Madame daily and acted with her in innumerable plays. When the King showed his affection for La Vallière, de Guiche ceased to veil his feelings so discreetly, and spoke to Henrietta of a hopeless love for a beautiful and unattainable lady, his description of whom deceived no one but Madame ! Not realizing the depths of his passion, she thoroughly appreciated his admiration ; her husband's neglect made her susceptible to the kindness of others, and de Guiche was an ideal lover. That he had married young and against his will did not at all detract from the romance. As to her, the whole episode was entirely idyllic ; she accepted his admiration, regarded him as a friend, and derived pleasure from his society. He was capable of graceful evidences of his affection ; it was a point of etiquette that at meals every one should speak in a tone loud enough to be heard by all, and in order to murmur sweet nothings to Madame he pretended to be afflicted with pulmonary disease, that made him unable to speak above a whisper ; and to substantiate the fiction he lived on milk diet for a year. As time went on, de Guiche's admiration for Madame grew so noticeable that Monsieur observed it, and became jealous, assumed the attitude of injured husband, and remonstrated with the Count in such an offensive manner that he left the Court. His sister, Madame's greatest friend, was banished about that date, and Henrietta experienced, for the first time, her husband's methods of punishing her by removing her friends. In the absence of Madame de Monaco, whose attachment for her was deep and sincere, Henrietta took into her confidence one of her maids-of-honour, Mademoiselle de Montalais, a consummate *intrigante*.

When de Guiche returned to Court, Mademoiselle de Montalais, who knew of his affection for Madame, realized that much advantage might be gained by a more intimate knowledge of the affair. She therefore inveigled him into an impassioned description of his feelings for Madame, and promised to do her best to further his cause. She kept her word ; and as Henrietta showed a kindly interest in the pathetic story of hopeless love, advised Guiche to write to her ; this he did, but Madame refused to read his letter. A few days later, when she

was being carried in a litter from Fontainebleau to Paris, Mademoiselle de Montalais threw a large packet of de Guiche's amatory epistles into her lap. The temptation to read them, increased by the natural desire to while away the tedious hours of the journey, was irresistible, and she not only succumbed to it but told Mademoiselle de Montalais she had done so.

On reaching Paris Madame became very ill and was obliged to stay in bed, but, as usual, this did not prevent her from receiving her friends, and one day Mademoiselle de Montalais smuggled in the Comte de Guiche disguised as a fortune-teller. No one recognized him but Henrietta, although he spoke to many of his acquaintances. They were not alone for a moment, and their conversation was of a most innocuous character, chiefly of the foibles of Monsieur; and the pleasure the meeting may have caused could not justify its indiscretion. Mademoiselle de La Vallière heard of the Count's visit, and immediately told the King, who called upon Madame to remonstrate. His annoyance, however, was only superficial, and he used the incident as a means to his own ends. He affected a compromise with Henrietta, by which he promised to ignore the incident, and not to exile Guiche, if she would take Mademoiselle de La Vallière, who had retired into a convent, back into her household. Such a happy ending was prevented by the arrival of a new character upon the scene, in the person of the Marquis de Vardes, a favourite of the King's, a gentleman of his household, and, incidentally, 'the most consummate villain in Europe.' A friend of Guiche, he naturally knew all about his intimacy with Madame, and being attracted by her himself, and inordinately vain, he resolved to supplant, and more than supplant, his friend. The first move in this noble adventure was to get the Count banished, and was accomplished by pointing out to his father the danger in which he was placed by his undisguised love for Madame. The Maréchal de Grammont, persuaded that there was cause for anxiety on his son's account, implored the King to send him from Paris. Therefore, to his infinite surprise and annoyance, the Comte de Guiche received orders to command the troops in Lorraine.

Henrietta was amazed when she heard that de Guiche was gone. Having the King's promise that he would not banish him,

she believed that her *preux chevalier* had left her of his own free will, and had not even had the courtesy to tell her of his intention. She expressed her chagrin at his conduct in no measured terms to Mademoiselle de Montalais, who promptly communicated with Guiche, and the fact of his father's intervention was revealed. Irritated at the somewhat ridiculous position in which he was placed, the Count wrote to tell Madame that he would refuse to go to Lorraine; she, however, with an increase of worldly wisdom, saw in his absence the only means of preventing a scandal, and warmly advocated his departure. Guiche bowed to her decision, but asked for a farewell interview as a reward. Henrietta granted the condition, and Mademoiselle de Montalais made the arrangements. On a day when Monsieur was out she led Guiche by a private staircase to a room in Madame's apartments. Madame, aware of this, expressed a desire to rest after luncheon, and, accompanied only by Mademoiselle de Montalais, left the Court and joined the Comte de Guiche. In this case fortune did not favour the brave, for before the interview was ended Monsieur returned, and Guiche had to hide behind a large screen that stood in front of the grate. His anxiety can easily be imagined, and the position was made even more precarious by Monsieur attempting to put the peel of an orange he was preparing for Madame on the fire behind the screen. The situation was only saved by Mademoiselle de Montalais expressing a taste for orange peel and begging that she might have it.

At length Monsieur departed, and Guiche was led quietly away by the secret staircase; but his visit had been discovered by two maids-of-honour, who, jealous of Mademoiselle de Montalais's intimacy with Madame, had kept watch over the secret entrance, with the double motive of ruining a rival and gaining some credit for themselves. They took the story somewhat embellished to Anne of Austria, who characteristically lost no time in telling her son. Monsieur, who was amazed and perhaps a little pleased to find his faultless wife in such an invidious position, dismissed Mademoiselle de Montalais, who departed at break of day, fortunately taking Madame's letters from Guiche with her.

During the morning Monsieur went to his wife's room and

frigidly remarked that he had sent Mademoiselle de Montalais away. Many women would have resorted to subterfuge in so trying a situation, but Henrietta's courage and straightforwardness prevented her from committing such an error. She told her husband the whole story; and, charmed at being in a position to demand confession and administer censure, he graciously pronounced forgiveness. Probably the fact that he had ceased to love Henrietta made the expression of forgiveness easy. That it was no more than an expression his subsequent conduct showed.

The Marquis de Vardes's plan for the removal of his rival having proved successful, he took another step towards the subjugation of Madame, by endeavouring to create a serious misunderstanding between her and Guiche. Having gained her friendship to some extent as a comrade of the absent Count, he insidiously led her to understand that Guiche had forgotten her and succumbed to the charms of some one else; then wrote to tell Guiche that Madame was desperately in love with La Rochefoucauld's son, the Prince de Marsillac, and that their indiscretion was so obvious that the whole Court was talking of it, and Monsieur exceedingly angry. Guiche, deeply hurt by such tidings, vehemently expressed his bitterness and indignation in his reply. Vardes showed the letter to Henrietta, and the hopes for misunderstanding seemed to be achieved. One day, however, Vardes assumed too much, and drew from Henrietta the assertion that there was not the faintest chance of his supplanting Guiche. Veiling his anger, but resolved to avenge the slight, Vardes changed his method of attack. He continued to visit Madame, and under the pretext of friendly counsel, managed to convince her that Louis hated her, and that her only course was to seek Charles the Second's advice. The lonely Princess thereupon wrote an account of her many grievances to her brother. When she received his reply she rashly gave it to Vardes, who showed it to Louis, in order to prove that Henrietta was a dangerous *intrigante*. Naturally Louis was angry, and Vardes's triumph and Henrietta's disgrace would have been accomplished had not a nemesis in the shape of a woman scorned, arisen and changed the course of events. Before he came under the spell of Madame's charm, Vardes had

been the lover of Olympia Mancini, Comtesse de Soissons, and when she discovered his perfidy her fury knew no bounds. Believing that if Henrietta quarrelled with Vardes the old state of affairs would be restored, she revealed the whole scheme to her. In her distress Henrietta appealed to Louis, but his mind had been so influenced against her by Vardes that he received her coldly. Meanwhile Guiche had shown the greatest bravery in Poland, and had been pardoned and permitted to return to Court. His glory was so great that Monsieur could not continue his quarrel, and invited him to attend Madame's salon, only stipulating that he should not see her alone. Having been told that Madame evinced emotion on hearing he was wounded, he felt that her feelings for him could not have changed as much as Vardes had said, and having no other means of communicating with her, he asked the Marquis, whom he still trusted, to take a letter to her. Vardes took the letter, and on his knees and with floods of tears, implored Henrietta to conceal his treachery from Guiche. But she was firm, and said that she had been basely deceived, and that the Count should know the truth at last. Shortly after the departure of the discomfited Marquis the King came to see Henrietta, and having an inkling of the state of affairs listened kindly to her story, and promised to punish Vardes on the very first occasion. To do so now would be to create a scandal. The opportunity was not long in coming. Vardes often spoke of Madame in a disparaging manner, and at Court one day, when the Chevalier de Lorraine was being ridiculed about his *penchant* for one of the maids-of-honour, remarked with a leer that it was foolish to be content with the maid when he could aspire to the mistress. This time Henrietta's indignation resulted in Vardes's imprisonment in the Bastille. But the imprisonment was a triumph rather than a punishment, as his boast that Madame had not the power to disgrace him was fulfilled by crowds of friends and acquaintances flocking to see him. When Louis heard of this he ordered him to the grim prison of Montpellier for two years, and on his release sent him to the paltry government of Arques-Mortes, where he remained for nineteen years.

Henrietta and Guiche only met once more. In January 1665 the Duchesse de Vieuville gave a masque. Every one

was completely disguised, and the Duc and Duchesse d'Orleans arrived in a hired vehicle. By some strange fate Henrietta chose a cavalier, whom in a few minutes she recognized as Guiche by a wound in his hand: almost at the same moment he knew her by the perfume in her hair. They passed silently through the crowd to an alcove on the stairs where they could talk without fear of interruption. Vardes's treachery was explained, all misunderstandings cleared away, and their fallen ideals of each other raised to an altitude even higher than before. Presently Monsieur appeared, and as Henrietta moved towards him she slipped and would have fallen had not Guiche caught her in his arms. It was the last time they met, for though Guiche implored to be allowed to say good-bye to her before he joined the army in Flanders, Madame would not consent, as she knew they would be observed, and experience had taught her the danger of indiscretion. Guiche, nothing daunted, resolved at least to see her, so disguised himself in the livery of Madame de La Vallière's footman, with the intention of approaching Madame's litter under pretext of a message. This plan failed, however, for, still weak from his wounds, the excess of emotion overcame him, and he fainted as the litter passed by. Shortly afterwards he started on the campaign that was to be his last, for after nine years of constant fighting he was killed in the disastrous battle of Kreuznach, in 1674. Two years after Guiche's final departure from Paris a very scandalous pamphlet was published in Holland purporting to give a true account of the intrigues of the Duchesse d'Orleans. Although it was absolutely false, Henrietta, realizing the effect it would have upon her husband and the world generally, was in despair: the King, though sympathetic, would do nothing. She appealed to Cosnac, Bishop of Valence, who proved his friendship by sending an agent to Holland with instructions to buy up the whole edition, cost what it might. 'So well did he accomplish his errand,' says the Bishop, 'that he obtained from the States government a prohibition to print it, and withdrew eighteen hundred copies already printed, which he brought to me in Paris. . . . This affair cost me much trouble and money, but far from regretting either I considered myself paid by the gratitude Madame showed me.'

On 27 March, 1662, Henrietta's first child was born; as both the Duke and Duchess had longed for a son, the arrival of Princess Marie Louise was a terrible disappointment. She was given into the tutelage of Madame de Saint Chaumont, and two years later was adopted by Anne of Austria. In 1679 she married Charles II., the imbecile King of Spain, and after an unhappy ten years died, probably from poison.

In accordance with the wishes of both Charles and Louis, Henrietta now turned her attention to international politics, and became the chief mediator between France and England. On 25 July her mother left Paris for England, possibly with the idea of influencing her son towards France and Roman Catholicism; for at this time Charles was halting between his own desires and those of his people.

After the first flush of joy at the Restoration had faded, the English people clung tenaciously to their constitutional rights and religious freedom, and Charles, by his obvious intention to please Louis XIV. by the sale of Dunkirk (although Henrietta pointed out the folly of such an act), and by marrying Catherine of Braganza, had revealed his predilection for a French alliance, which, in the minds of most of his subjects, would be tantamount to a return to absolutism and possibly Romanism: if the King were subsidized by a foreign monarch the Parliament would have no real power by which it could control his actions. The political relations of France and England were peaceful, though Frenchmen were so unpopular that Londoners forcibly assisted the Spanish ambassador in a struggle to take precedence of the French ambassador in a procession one day. 'We do all naturally love the Spanish,' says Pepys, 'and hate the French.'

The mission of ambassador to Louis XIV. from a friendly king and an antagonistic people required the utmost delicacy and tact, and Lora Hollis possessed neither, and negotiations would have been impossible had not both Louis and Charles realized Henrietta's wonderful capacity for statecraft, and employed her as their minister plenipotentiary.

But acting as intermediary between the two kings, and the work that task necessitated, did not prevent Henrietta from entering enthusiastically into the Court gaieties, acting, dancing, and

riding, as the various occasions required. She was one of those fragile women whose will power is so great that they are able to accomplish that which is apparently physically impossible. During the ten years that elapsed between her marriage to her death she was rarely well. Memoirs tell of her cough, her excessive thinness, and her frequent illness, and yet, as the multitude of achievements prove, her life must have been beyond words strenuous. She never took to her bed unless absolutely obliged, nor remained there for a day after she was capable of getting up.

Although the winter of 1662 was one of great distress, the country being almost reduced to famine, it was a particularly gay one at Court. Altruistic ideas had not yet travelled from Port Royal to the Louvre, and though, owing to the preaching of St. Vincent de Paul many individuals had striven to help the poor, as a whole society recognized no obligations in that respect. Notwithstanding the gaiety, Henrietta was not particularly happy. Monsieur had dismissed more of her friends from her household, and the Grande Mademoiselle, whom she always liked, was banished because she refused to marry the King of Portugal, as that monarch, though twenty-three, could neither read nor write, was short, fat, partly paralysed, and, in words of a contemporary, 'gluttonous and dirty': it is not surprising that the Princess preferred the gloom of Saint Fargeau.

During the spring Anne of Austria was ill, and Louis was so affected that on her recovery he listened to her reproaches, and promised to amend his evil ways. He made a pilgrimage to Chartres, and his voluntary penance was augmented by the involuntary one of an attack of measles. Henrietta went to Versailles to nurse him, and their friendship increased; but in spite of his mother's exhortations and his good resolutions he returned to La Vallière as soon as he was well.

On 26 July, 1664, Henrietta's son, the Duc de Valois, was born, and the Orleans cup of joy full. The Kings of England and France were enthusiastic in their congratulations, and the latter gave the new Prince a pension of fifty thousand crowns.

In the summer of this year Henrietta's health broke down and she was ordered absolute rest. Her illness was ascribed to

an excess of gaiety, but it is far more probable that it was caused by worry. Monsieur was more than ever disagreeable, being jealous that her popularity should eclipse his own, and as usual he gave vent to his feelings by dismissing her friends. The Guiche affair had made her appear more accessible than she really was, and the task of keeping her adorers at a distance without offending them, and at the same time to soothe her husband's irritability, was quite enough to strain her nerves to the breaking point, and her doctor ordered perfect quiet. In order to obtain the required rest, Henrietta retired to Saint Cloud. One day it occurred to her to suggest that Madame de La Fayette, who was sharing her solitude, should make a story of her friendship with Louis and Guiche. The authoress of the *Princesse de Cleves* heartily entered into the idea, and wrote out in the mornings all that Henrietta had told her in the evenings; the heroine then corrected the manuscript, and often added passages with her own hand. Although she thoroughly enjoyed making a romance of her own life story, she put it aside as soon as she was able to return to society, and it remained untouched for four years.

One of Henrietta's greatest pleasures was her interest in literature and the literary luminaries of the day. Through Madame de La Fayette she became intimate with the Port Royal circle—Arnould d'Andilly, Bussy de Rabutin, Pomponne, Madame de Sablé, Treville, Madame de Sévigné, Madame de La Suze, and Mademoiselle Scudéri. Her love of the drama made her extremely gracious towards the playwrights. Molière and Racine, in particular, benefited immensely from her favour. When *Tartuffe* was first presented, and, with the author, incurred a storm of abuse, Henrietta commanded the condemned play to be performed before the King at her own house at Villiers-Cotterets. Recognizing Molière's genius, she allowed him to read his manuscript to her, and won his everlasting regard by her comprehension of his ideas and her intelligent criticism of his works. He expressed his appreciation in the dedication of *L'École des Femmes*.

Two years later Henrietta suggested to both Corneille and Racine the story of Titus and Berenice as the thesis of a drama, recognizing in it an analogy to her own episode with

Louis. Neither poet knew that the other was occupied with the same subject until their works came out. The younger dramatist won the laurels, and his achievement was hailed by the whole Court as well as Madame as a masterpiece.

When Philip IV. of Spain died on 17 September, 1665, leaving only an infant son to succeed him, Louis determined to prove his wife's claim to Flanders with fire and sword. The opening of hostilities was postponed until the following May on account of the serious illness of the Queen Mother.

The King, Monsieur, and Madame were assiduous in their attendance to the dying Queen. Marie Thérèse was too greatly overcome with grief at her father's death to be able to attend to other sad scenes. Before her death Anne of Austria's affection for Henrietta returned, and she ordered that the crucifix that she held in her dying hand should be given to her. After her death on 20 January, 1666, it was found that she had left the greater part of her fortune to Madame's eldest daughter, Marie Louise d'Orleans.

On 8 December, 1666, Henrietta's son, the Duc de Valois, died, and his mother was plunged into the depths of despair. All France sympathized with her loss and felt grief on its own account, as, owing to the delicacy of the Dauphin, the little Duke had been regarded as a probable heir to the throne.

At about the same time Monsieur came under the influence of the dissipated Chevalier de Lorraine. The good Bishop Cosnac did his best to combat the evil influence, but it was too powerful for him. Once there seemed a hope of saving the degraded prince; he accompanied the King to the war, and was persuaded by Cosnac to put away frivolities, take up arms and fight in the trenches. At first the feeling of martial ardour appealed to him, and the rumours that the King would make him a lieutenant-general flattered him into bravery; but when Cosnac was congratulating himself on the marvellous improvement, Lorraine arrived at the camp; immediately Monsieur's new found manliness evaporated, and he returned to his old dilatory habits. When one day the Chevalier received a wound, Monsieur wept over him and nursed him indefatigably, and Cosnac's control was ended.

After the conquest of Lille the King, satisfied that the campaign would prosper, left for Paris, and Monsieur joined Henrietta, who had been dangerously ill, at Villiers-Cotterets. When they returned to the Palais Royal, Lorraine was established in the best suite of rooms, and exercised a firmer rule than ever over Monsieur, causing him to treat his long-suffering wife with the greatest brutality.

Louis was far too occupied with his own affairs to take interest in the domestic arrangements of his brother: though he still loved La Vallière, Madame de Montespan had made considerable inroads in his heart, and the restriction of his mother's presence being removed, he saved himself the trouble of selection by dividing his attention between them, saving a moiety for Marie Thérèse. He took all three in his coach when travelling, and the two *inamoratas* yielded precedence only to the Queen and Madame. The peregrinations of this truly Oriental cortège were accompanied with the utmost magnificence. 'All you have heard of the glory of Solomon, and of the Emperor of China,' wrote a correspondent of Bussy Rabutin, 'is not to be compared with the pomp of warlike array which surrounds the King. The streets were full of cloth of gold, of waving plumes, of chariots and superbly harnessed mules, of horses with gold enlaced trappings, and of sumptuous carriages.' The contrast of the splendour of the Court in which Henrietta mingled freely and her domestic unhappiness must have added poignancy to her sufferings.

Early in 1668 things became even worse. Charles II. sent his son the Duke of Monmouth to Paris with a letter to Henrietta asking her to be kind to him; and always anxious to please her brother, Henrietta did all in her power to make his visit agreeable, giving balls and fêtes in his honour, and taking him on her various expeditions. Monmouth was naturally charmed with his aunt, and repaid her kindness with a chivalrous adoration. Monsieur characteristically misunderstood everything and was jealous. Lorraine added fuel to the flame, and an unpleasant domestic scene supervened. Monsieur insulted Madame, and she retaliated by complaining of Lorraine's insolence to her and his scandalous treatment of one of her maids-of-honour. Afterward's she confided her grievance to

Madame de Saint Chaumont, who appealed to the King. Louis was disgusted, and reproached his brother severely for allowing his favourite so much licence. Monsieur was infuriated and retired in anger to Villiers-Cotterets, taking only Madame and the Chevalier. Henrietta was soon deprived of the society of another friend ; it was not to be expected that Lorraine would allow any one so adverse to his interests as the Bishop of Valence to remain in Monsieur's household. Soon after their return to Paris, therefore, Cosnac was dismissed, and Monsieur and Lorraine poisoned the King's mind against him so effectually that he was banished from Paris. About a year later Henrietta implored him to come to her in order to advise her concerning the offensive conduct of the Chevalier ; and the Bishop, who would have risked his life cheerfully for the beautiful Princess, hastened to Paris in disguise. Unluckily on reaching St. Denis he fell ill, and was obliged to remain in his lodging, but to allay Madame's anxiety sent a message to Madame de Saint Chaumont. Immediately after the messenger had departed the police arrived, and mistaking the Bishop for a notorious forger, arrested him. Even though he declared himself, as he was breaking the law by being in Paris, the arrest held good and he was imprisoned in Fort l'Eveque for disregarding the decree of banishment. Fortunately he was able to destroy Madame's letters, but, most unluckily, he left one of Madame de Saint Chaumont's in his rooms. After a night in prison he was ordered to leave Paris immediately for the remote town of Lille de Jourdain, where he remained in solitary exile for two years.

Madame was in despair when she heard of the misfortune that had befallen her friend, particularly as she felt herself responsible for the catastrophe ; but a greater calamity followed. Owing to the discovery of her note in Cosnac's room, Madame de Saint Chaumont was found to be an accomplice in the Bishop's guilt, and disgraced and exiled accordingly.

Madame de La Fayette was now the only person in her household, or even in the Court, whom Henrietta could trust.

CHAPTER XVIII

Scheme of Franco-British treaty. Death of Henrietta Maria. Monsieur's jealousy and cruelty. Takes Henrietta to Villiers-Cotterets. Goes to England. The Treaty signed. Her letters. Her death.

NOTWITHSTANDING the French alliance with England's enemy, the United Provinces, the three promoters of a Franco-British union did not lose hope. Secretly they drew out a draught of the treaty which was destined to be signed at Dover in less than three years. The salient features were that in return for a large subsidy Louis should be regarded as a suzerain of Great Britain and Ireland, and that that country should be brought back to the Papal fold.

Both Charles and Henrietta have been severely criticized for their actions with regard to the Treaty of Dover. But their desire for the welfare of England was perfectly sincere. The restriction forced upon him by Parliament was most irksome to Charles, and the results of the democratic tendencies that prevailed in his father's reign were ever in his memory. The comparison of England and France as examples of constitutional and absolute monarchies obviously pointed to the advantage of the latter; each nation had suffered from civil wars, and the one in which democracy had supervened had become, in spite of Cromwell's naval victories, a secondary power; and that in which autocracy had triumphed paramount in Europe. If a French alliance would strengthen the Crown, it was quite logical to suppose that it would enhance the position of the country also, and Charles probably considered it no more humiliating to acknowledge the suzerainty of a great monarch than to be the slave of his Parliament.

As for Henrietta, Macaulay goes so far as to speak of her

influence in this affair being 'pernicious to her country,' but whatever the ultimate issues of her policy may have been, words spoken immediately before her death prove the sincerity of her desire for the good of England, and the honour of the King. She had assimilated a belief in the advantage of an absolute monarchy from contact with Mazarin, Anne of Austria, and Louis XIV.; and as results had strengthened that belief, she wished Charles to adopt the policy that had so immeasurably improved the position of Louis. Further, it was quite natural for her to suppose that England would be immensely benefited by an alliance with the most powerful country in Europe. That personal feeling and political theories were in accord in no way detracted from the value of either. Henrietta was so successful in her diplomacy that in August 1668 Colbert de Croissy, brother of Louis's great financial minister, was sent to England to discuss the commercial treaty, which, as the elect knew, was to form the scaffolding of the political alliance. In January 1669, Charles confided the secret of his conversion to Roman Catholicism to some of his ministers, and as affairs progressed Charles naturally wished to see his sister, and hoped she would visit him in the summer. The state of her health, however, prevented the wish from being accomplished. On 27 August her second daughter was born, and once more disappointment reigned supreme at Saint Cloud. In a note to Madame de Sablé, Monsieur expressed his sorrow at 'having only a daughter when he hoped to have sons and had not one.' This undesired daughter, Anne Marie, Mademoiselle de Valois, married Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, and became the ancestress of Marie Therese of Modena, Princess Louis of Bavaria, who is therefore the lineal descendant of Charles I., and the present representative of the royal line of the House of Stuart.

On 10 September, before Henrietta recovered, the news arrived of her mother's death at Colombes.

As the cough from which Henrietta Maria had long been suffering grew worse, Vallot, the King's physician, ordered a dose of opium; but Mayerne warned her against narcotics, and as an astrologer had foretold that she would die from one, she refused to take it. However, when night came on and she

could not sleep, she asked for a dose of opium. The sleeping draught was so effective that she did not wake again.

All her possessions went to Charles II., who gave Colombes and the Queen's magnificent pearls to Henrietta, and the furniture of the convent of Chaillot to the abbess.

Henrietta was overwhelmed with grief at her mother's death, and, as Monsieur had joined the King in a royal progress to Chambord, was once more left alone at Saint Cloud with Madame de La Fayette, who endeavoured to cheer her by continuing the autobiographical story. During the ensuing months much more was written, but when Henrietta returned to Paris the book was put aside. A year later Madame de La Fayette opened it again to recount the terrible death of her beloved Princess.

When the Court returned to Paris in October, the Queen of England was buried with the utmost pomp and ceremony, and Bossuet delivered her famous funeral oration at Chaillot.

After her mother's death Henrietta's domestic affairs grew rapidly worse. Her husband became more than ever under the dominion of the Chevalier, who now openly boasted that he had caused the banishment of Madame de Saint Chaumont and of Cosnac, and that he could procure the exile of any of Madame's friends if he chose; he also hinted that he might persuade Monsieur to divorce his wife, and treated that unhappy Princess with insolence and discourtesy. It soon became obvious to Louis that Monsieur knew something of the secret treaty, and of Madame's proposed visit to England. Fearing that the information had been obtained from Henrietta, he lost no time in questioning her on the subject, and when she solemnly assured him that she had not spoken of it to any one, he sent for Turenne, who, he thought, might have been indiscreet. At first that veteran warrior hesitated, but after admitted that he had mentioned Madame's proposed visit to Madame Coatquen, with whom he had 'a great friendship,' in order that she might be prepared for the journey. As every one knew that Madame Coatquen loved the Chevalier, and that he had no secrets from Monsieur, there was no doubt in Louis's mind as to how his brother had gained the information. This incident made Monsieur's manner to his wife more acrimonious

than before, and in her distress she appealed to Charles for help. He immediately wrote to Louis to demand an apology and a promise that Lorraine should be punished: the apology was made through the ambassador, and the promise given that the next time the Chevalier gave pretext for punishment it should be administered with no light hand.

The opportunity soon arose. By the death of the Bishop of Langres, two of the richest abbeys in Monsieur's appanage became vacant, and he asked the King to give them to Lorraine. Louis refused without a reason, and Monsieur flew into a great rage, and expressed his opinion of his brother in a manner more emphatic than discreet. The Chevalier, with characteristic conceit, constituted himself mediator, and assured the King that if treated kindly Monsieur would never do anything to incur his displeasure, and ended by remarking that he himself would be answerable for his good conduct. '*You will be answerable to me for my brother's conduct,*' Louis replied. '*Do you think that I choose to have such guarantees; but it is well, I hold you to your word.*' Therefore the next time Monsieur spoke offensively of the King's refusal to bestow the abbeys upon Lorraine, Louis ordered that the Chevalier should be arrested and sent to prison at Pierre Encire at Lyons. He was taken while enjoying a *tête-à-tête* with Monsieur, who immediately became hysterical and then fainted; when he was sufficiently recovered to walk he sought the King, flung himself at his feet, and implored that his favourite should be released. But Louis was firm in his determination to punish Lorraine, and Monsieur, feeling his persuasions were useless, swore solemnly that he would go away and not see his brother's face again until the Chevalier was liberated and allowed to return to Court.

The King was inflexible, and Monsieur gave orders that preparations should immediately be made for a journey to Villiers-Cotterets. He told Madame, to whom the project was distasteful in the extreme, that the visit would last for an indefinite period. In a letter to Turenne, Henrietta expressed her feelings about this enforced retreat from Paris, which she could not but regard in the light of a punishment. '*You will understand what pain I feel from the step which Monsieur has taken, and how little compared with this I mind*

the weariness of the place, the unpleasantness of his company in his present mood, and a thousand other things of which I might complain.'

Monsieur was obsessed with the idea that, if she wished, Henrietta could secure the Chevalier's recall; and in order to force her to exert her influence in that direction, he subjected her to a course of tyranny which she found most painful. 'He never sees me without reproaching me,' she wrote to Madame de Saint Chaumont, '... he sulks in my presence, and hopes that by ill-treating me he will make me wish for the Chevalier's return. I have told him that this kind of conduct will never answer.'

The Court, as well as Henrietta, suffered from Monsieur's sins and selfishness. 'Since Madame has left us,' wrote Madame de La Suze, one of her ladies, 'joy is no longer to be seen at St. Germain, . . . and unless she returns soon I cannot think what we shall do with ourselves. Nobody thinks of anything else but of writing to her, and the ladies of the Court are to be seen, pen in hand, at all hours of the day. I hope you will soon return, and with you, the Graces, who always follow in Madame's train.'

Louis missed Henrietta even more than his courtiers did, for, apart from the pleasure of her society, he wished to discuss the secret treaty with her. The English envoy, Lord Falconbridge, and his secretary, Dodington, had been to see Henrietta at Villiers-Cotterets, but her absence from Paris was most inconvenient, and, moreover, the scandal of the quarrel between the King and Monsieur was so great that the former had been obliged to acquaint foreign ambassadors of the circumstances of the case. He therefore resolved to make a compromise, and release but exile Lorraine. Mindful of his brother's vow not to return to Court unless his favourite did so, he promised to allow the Chevalier to come to Paris to say good-bye. Colbert was sent to Villiers-Cotterets with these conditions, and Monsieur accepted them eagerly, and on 24 February the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, accompanied by Sir Ralph Montagu, the English ambassador, and Lord Falconbridge, left Villiers-Cotterets for Paris. Every one was delighted to see Henrietta again, but her friends were distressed by her frail and

unhappy appearance; the Queen forgot her jealousy and was gracious to her, and her friendship with Mademoiselle became more intimate.

But Monsieur was more ill-natured than ever; although outwardly reconciled, he ill-treated his wife abominably, and reproached her about the Guiche affair, regardless of the facts that he had expressed his forgiveness immediately after its occurrence, and that the Count had been away for nearly seven years. 'If he had strangled me when he thought I had wronged him,' Henrietta said to her tall cousin, 'I could at least have understood it, but to go on teasing me as he does, all about nothing, this is really more than I can bear.' Not satisfied with grumbling at Henrietta, he complained of her to the Queen and maligned her to Mademoiselle, who, ever ready to champion the weak, took him severely to task for his evil behaviour to his wife; but the reprimand merely elicited the reply that he only loved Henrietta for a fortnight after their marriage.

In 1670 Henrietta was well enough to undertake a journey to England. A royal progress to Flanders afforded an excellent opportunity for the visit, as once at Lille or Courtray, Henrietta would find the rest of the journey inconsiderable. Charles wrote to ask Monsieur to allow his wife to go to Dover or London, but, to every one's surprise, Monsieur flatly refused; he had always been jealous of her political importance, and believed that the proposed visit was more significant than he had been informed; he therefore not only vetoed it, but treated Madame with more unkindness than before. In a letter to Madame de Saint Chaumont, Henrietta gave vent to her feelings with regard to her husband's conduct, and recorded her distress.

After a great deal of persuasion, Monsieur was prevailed upon to consent to Henrietta's journey, but expressed his intention of accompanying her. This was an impossible condition, for even at his best he would have been an undesirable companion, and in his present state of ill-humour would have rendered the whole mission abortive. Charles wrote a friendly letter deprecating the proposal; and Monsieur thereupon withdrew his consent to Henrietta's visit, until Louis told him that Madame was going to England on affairs of State that could not be frustrated by the whims of a jealous husband. Monsieur

then yielded, but on the condition that she should only stay three days.

Everything being thus satisfactorily arranged, the Court set out on the progress to Flanders. Henrietta was to go with them as far as Courtray, where English envoys would meet her and escort her to Dover.

The journey was fraught with incidents: the cavalcade, under the command of Count Lauzun, consisted of the King, Queen, Mademoiselle de La Vallière, Madame de Montespan, Monsieur, Madame, the Grande Mademoiselle, and all their suites, amounting to a total of several thousand persons. The nobles travelled in splendid coaches, and the furniture which followed in waggons was more suitable to a palace than a camp. Louis had 'a chamber of crimson damask for ordinary use,' and a 'very magnificent one when greater accommodation was to be had, the bed of which, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, was so large that it could of itself fill several small rooms.' Beautiful Gobelin tapestry, silver services and candelabra were also amongst the impedimenta. Meals were served with almost as much pomp as at the Tuileries, and to while away the inevitable delays for the erection of the luxurious pavilions and tents, Louis arranged fêtes, games, and dances. On all these expeditions the nobles vied with each other as to the splendour of their equipages and clothes, and the excellence of their cooks. But on this occasion fate was adverse. Rain fell in torrents and spoilt the beautiful equipages, and made the roads almost impassable. Waggons could proceed but slowly, and the crowd was so huge that the difficulty of uniting luggage and owner was wellnigh insuperable. Gourmands lost their cooks, drenched officers changes of uniform, and fair ladies their powder and rouge, and temperaments were as depressed as the barometer. Louis was a good traveller, and bore the vicissitudes of meteorological fortunes with the calmness of a great soul; but the Queen was of a different calibre. Under happy circumstances she disliked travelling, and now, when uncomfortable lodgings and frugal meals were the rule rather than the exception, her distress was hysterical; she wept when the carriage jolted on the muddy road, and uttered heart-rending cries when desired to cross a ford. With regard to the last, Mademoiselle, in spite of her

martial bearing, was as bad as Marie Thérèse. At one ford she cried so loudly that the King expostulated with her, and was amazed at her reply, that when 'she saw water she no longer knew what she was doing.'

As they neared the frontier matters became even worse; waggons overturned and disgorged their freight; carriages soon followed suit, and the horses could only be saved by being unharnessed; but the climax of misfortune was attained when they reached the Sambre, half a league from the town of Landrecies. The river had overflowed its banks, its bridges were broken down, and as both the Queen and Mademoiselle absolutely refused to attempt a ford, the King commanded that a night should be spent in the carriage. As a two-roomed barn was discovered in the vicinity, it was decided that the royal family should sleep in the large room upon such mattresses as could be found, and that the smaller one should serve as a military headquarters for Lauzun. The Queen was horrified. 'What!' she exclaimed, 'sleep all together in one room; that will be horrible!' 'But,' rejoined the King, 'you will be completely dressed; there can be no harm, I find none.' Mademoiselle, chosen as arbiter, found no impropriety, and the Queen yielded. Madame de Barine writes that the city of Landrecies had provided their sovereigns with a 'bouillon very thin,' the distasteful appearance of which alarmed Marie Thérèse; she refused it with disgust. When it was well understood that she would not touch it, the King and Mademoiselle, aided by Monsieur and Madame, devoured it in an instant. As soon as it was all gone the Queen said: 'I wanted some soup and you have eaten it all.' Every one began to laugh, in spite of etiquette, when there appeared a large dish of chicken cutlets, also sent from Landrecies, which were eaten with avidity, soothing the injured feelings of the Queen. 'The dish contained,' relates Mademoiselle, 'meat so hard that it took all one's strength to pull a chicken apart.'

'When the company retired for the night, those not yet prepared arrayed themselves in nightcaps and dressing-gowns, and French royalty for this memorable night must be represented in the apparel of Argan . . .'

'Near the Queen upon a mattress lay Madame de Bethune,

the lady of honour, and Madame de Thlange . . . Monsieur and Madame, Louis XIV., and the Grande Mademoiselle, Mlle. de La Vallière, and Madame de Montespan, a duchess and a maid-of-honour were crowded upon the remaining mattress, placed at right angles, and providing a most troublesome obstruction to the officers going and coming on official business to the headquarters in the other room. . . .

‘At four in the morning Louvois gave warning that a bridge had been built. Mademoiselle awakened the King, and all got up. It was not a beautiful spectacle. Locks were hanging in disorder and countenances were wrinkled. Mademoiselle believed herself less disfigured than the others . . . and she rejoiced as she found it impossible to avoid the glance of Lauzun. The royal party mounted into their carriages and attended Mass at Landrecies, after which the august personages went to bed and reposed for a portion of the day.’

As Henrietta was ill the discomforts of the journey must have been doubly trying to her, but the only letter written at the time is a cheerful one to Madame de La Suze. When they reached Courtray they were met by the English envoys, who brought an invitation from Charles to Henrietta, in which he urged her to proceed at once to Dunkirk and embark on one of the ships that, under Lord Sandwich, awaited her orders. Madame accepted with joy but Monsieur, notwithstanding his previous consent, tried to prevent her from going. Again Louis insisted, and with characteristic bad grace Monsieur yielded.

The royal family accompanied Henrietta as far as Lille. While there Monsieur Pomponne, the French envoy at The Hague, visited her. He said afterwards that ‘he was surprised to find such grasp of mind and capacity for business in a Princess, when womanly graces seemed to have destined her to be the ornament of her sex.’ On the following day she wished the royal family good-bye, and set out for Dunkirk attended by a retinue of more than two hundred persons, including the Maréchal de Plessis, the Comte de Grammont, his wife and her brother Anthony Hamilton, and a new maid-of-honour Louise de Keroualle, the daughter of a poor Breton gentleman, and who eventually became the notorious Duchess of Portsmouth.

They embarked on the evening of 24 May, and at five

o'clock next morning, just as daylight was breaking, a small boat came in sight. As it drew near it was seen to hold the King and the Dukes of York and Monmouth and Prince Rupert, who had come to welcome Henrietta. The Princes boarded the ship, and in an instant Madame was on the deck greeting them affectionately and telling them of her joy at their meeting.

The vessels soon reached Dover, and Henrietta for the second time landed on her native shore, amid the acclamations of her countrymen.

As soon as Madame was comfortably installed in Dover Castle and her suite in the town, Charles sent for the Queen and the Duchess of York. Henrietta liked the former, finding her 'a very good woman, not handsome, but so kind and excellent that it was impossible not to love her.' The Duke of York was called back to London almost immediately, which was fortunate, as he was too fervent a Roman Catholic for his presence to have been advantageous in the discussion of the treaty.

Colbert de Croissy, the French ambassador to St. James's, had come to Dover, and he with Henrietta, Charles, Arlington, Clifford, Arundel, and Sir Richard Bellings, discussed the conditions of the treaty. As there was much to be arranged, it was obvious that the three days permitted by Monsieur for Madame's visit would be inadequate, and in answer to Charles's request Louis wrote that Henrietta might extend her visit to ten days. Henrietta used every argument imaginable to persuade Charles to agree to the French terms. He was anxious to join Louis in making war on Holland, and perfectly contented to support the Bourbon claims to Spain, but to proclaim his conversion to Roman Catholicism and impose that religion on his subjects was a scheme too dangerous to be acceptable to the politic King. However, Henrietta's assurance that Louis was prepared to assist him in case of a revolution, and lavishly replenish his impoverished exchequer, carried weight; and when, in the words of one who was present, she 'concluded her harangue, and spoke the rest with an eloquence of a more transcendent kind, and which, though dumb, infinitely surpassed the force of her reason or of her more charming words,' Charles could with-

stand her no longer, and the '*traité de Madame*' was accomplished. It was signed on 1 June by Colbert and the four English ministers, and Henrietta's diplomatic mission was completed entirely to her satisfaction.

In order to throw dust in the eyes of Buckingham and other important Protestants, a sham treaty was made, which contained no reference to the question of religion, and the subsidy that was promised on that account added to the war fund.

During the negotiations the tenth anniversary of the Restoration occurred, and was celebrated amidst the rejoicings of the people. The usual festivities were given—comedies, ballets, masques, and dances—and once more Henrietta won all hearts by her charm and graciousness. But as the time of her departure drew near and her sadness returned, she entreated Charles to let her remain in England; but he told her that 'much as he loved her, it could not be: she must, when her mission was ended, return to her connubial misery, and endeavour to make the best of her hard lot.' He did his utmost to console her both by friendliness and gifts. He gave her six thousand pistoles and some magnificent jewels for herself, loaded her suite with presents, and gave twenty thousand gold crowns for a memorial to Henrietta Maria at Chaillot. Henrietta, wishing to give him a souvenir, sent her maid-of-honour Louise de Keroualle for her jewel casket, and opening it asked Charles what he would like. The King took Louise by the hand and said that she was the jewel he desired. Henrietta, however, absolutely refused his request, saying that she was responsible to the girl's parents for her safety, and that she must return with her to France. So Charles was forced to content himself with a jewel of stone. Later, however, when Henrietta was dead, he remembered the fascinating Breton girl, and sent for her. She obeyed the summons, came, and was created Duchess of Portsmouth, and became the most potent advocate of French interests in England till the end of the reign. Her descendants, the Dukes of Richmond and Gordon, still bear her motto, '*En la rose je fleuris.*'

12 June was the day selected for Henrietta's departure, and just before she embarked, the poet Edmund Waller presented her with the following ode:—

That sun of beauty did among us rise,
 England first saw the light of your fair eyes ;
 In England too, your early wit was shown ;
 Favour that language, which was then your own.
 When, though a child, through guards you made your way
 What fleet or army could an angel stay ?
 Thrice happy Britain ! if she could retain
 Whom she first bred within her ancient main.
 Our late burnt London, in apparel new,
 Shook off her ashes to have treated you :
 But we must see our glory snatched away,
 And with warm tears increase the guilty sea ;
 No wind can favour us. Howe'er it blows,
 We must be wretched and our dear treasure lose !
 Sighs will not let us half our sorrow tell ;
 Fair, lovely, great and best of nymphs, farewell.

Charles, with the Duke of York, who had returned from London, sailed some distance with Henrietta, and all three were overwhelmed with grief at the final parting. The French ambassador, who was present, said he never witnessed so sorrowful a leave-taking as that of the King and Madame, or had known how much royal personages could love one another.

The weather was favourable, and Calais was reached in a few hours. Henrietta was received with royal honours, and remained there till the following day, when she proceeded to Boulogne, and from thence to Montreuil, where she was splendidly entertained by the Duc d'Elbœuf. At Abbeville she was met by the King's guards, who escorted her to Beauvais, where the English ambassador, Sir Ralph Montagu, received her, and conducted her to Saint Germain. The King and Queen would have driven forth in state to meet Madame, as they did ten years before, but Monsieur would not so far honour his wife, and would only consent to drive out a few miles to meet her quite informally.

The King received her at the castle very graciously, appreciated all that she had done, and showered gifts upon her ; the Queen and Mademoiselle were glad to have her back, and all the Court rejoiced in her presence. But her husband remained churlish, and having realized the greatness of her importance compared with his own, resented it keenly, and demonstrated his resentment by deliberate ill-treatment. That all the world

praised her, and two Kings admired her and appreciated her success in diplomacy, must have emphasized the unkindness of the person who was nearest to her.

Monsieur, out of spite, Mademoiselle says in her *Memoirs*, refused to accompany the Court to Versailles, but insisted upon going to Paris instead. While there, ambassadors and nobles came to congratulate Henrietta on her return from England. Never before had she held such a Court or been so popular. When on 24 June she went to Saint Cloud with her husband and children, expecting a dull and quiet time, she was immediately followed by all those who cared most for her, including La Rochefoucauld, Turenne, Treville, La Fare, Sir Ralph Montagu, and Madame de La Fayette. That even the presence of so many of her best friends could not make life bearable, with Monsieur's ill-humour to leaven it, is shown in a letter to Madame de Saint Chaumont, written on 26 June.

‘I knew you would understand the joy my visit to England gave me. It was indeed most delightful, and long as I have known the affection of my brother the King, it proved still greater than I expected. He showed me the greatest possible kindness, and was ready to help me in all that he could do. Since my return, the King here has been very good to me, but as for Monsieur, nothing can equal his bitterness and anxiety to find fault. He does me the honour to say that I am all-powerful and can do everything that I like, and so, if I do not bring back the Chevalier, it is because I do not wish to please him. At the same time he joins threats for the future with this kind of talk. I have once more told him how little his favourite's return depends on me, and how little I get my way, or you would not be where you are now. Instead of seeing the truth of this, and becoming softened, he took occasion of my remark to go and complain of me to the King, and tried at the same time to do me other ill offices. This had a very bad effect, together with the letter you wrote to my child, and which they pretend was delivered to her secretly, and has, I fear, increased the King's unfavourable opinion of you. I have not yet had time to defend you, but you may trust me to do the best I can for you, and to prove that I am not unworthy of the friendship you have so often showed me. If I cannot do away

with these unfortunate impressions, I will at least try to remove the false reports by which they have been occasioned. I have often blamed you for the tender love you feel for my child. In God's name put that love away. The poor child cannot return that affection, and will, alas ! be brought up to hate me. You had better keep your love for persons who are as grateful as I am, and who feel as keenly as I do the pain of being unable to help you in your present need. I hope that you will do me the justice to believe this, and will remain once for all assured that I shall never lose a chance of helping you, and of showing you my tenderness.

' Since my return from England the King has gone to Versailles, where Monsieur would not follow him, lest I should have the pleasure of being with him.'

Mademoiselle, who visited her during their last days at Saint Cloud, records her unhappy state of mind : ' She bitterly lamented the loss of her mother, the late Queen-Dowager of England ; she said how dearly she loved her, and that she constantly missed her mediation in making up the quarrel between her and Monsieur, with whom she had from the first always lived uneasily. I had felt much concern for the death of the Queen, my aunt, and now I saw that Madame was in tears though trying to repress them, when mentioning her ; at last, notwithstanding all her efforts, they burst out and flowed abundantly and passionately.'

A visit to Versailles on the 28th brought the unhappy relations between the Duke and Duchess of Orleans to a climax. The King, anxious to hear further particulars of the English visit, took Henrietta aside for a little private talk : unfortunately Monsieur discovered them, and was grievously offended that they would not continue the conversation in his presence, and his wife's injudicious remark ' that it was not fit for him to know,' made him so angry that he insisted upon taking her back to Saint Cloud immediately. Madame was distressed by this, and both the Queen and Mademoiselle noticed how ill and unhappy she looked when she said good-bye ; and the former was heard to remark, ' Madame has death plainly written upon her face.'

Her depression was naturally increased by this further

quarrel with her husband, and next morning, after a long talk with him, she told Madame de La Fayette that she was very unhappy and ill-humoured. 'Yet this ill-humour of which she complained,' interpolated her friend, 'would have been thought charming in other women, so great was her natural sweetness, and so incapable was she of anger and bitterness.'

It was Sunday, and presently they all went to Mass, Madame de La Fayette in attendance on Madame, who said to her, 'If I had you always to talk with I should be happier, but I am so weary of the people who are about me here that I can scarcely endure them.'

Some time during the day, probably in the early morning, she wrote to Anne de Gonzaga, Princess Edward Palatinate, the following letter, the authenticity of which is completely established, and as an account of her state of mind before her death, and as the last letter she wrote, it is worthy of quotation :-

De St. Cloud, 29 Juin, 1670

'It is only fair that I should give you an account of a journey which you tried to render acceptable in the only quarter where it could fail to meet with approval. I will confess that on my return I had hoped to find every one satisfied, instead of which things are worse than ever. You remember telling me that Monsieur insisted on three things: first, that I should place him in confidential relations with the King, my brother; secondly, that I should ask the King to give him his son's allowance; thirdly, that I should help the Chevalier de Lorraine. The King, my brother, was so kind as to promise that he would willingly trust Monsieur with his secrets if he would behave better in the future than he had done with regard to my journey. He even offered to give the Chevalier de Lorraine a refuge in his kingdom till affairs have calmed down here. He could do no more for him. As for the pension, I have great hopes of obtaining it if only Monsieur will put an end to the comedy which he still presents to the public gaze, but you will understand that I cannot ask for this, after the way in which he behaved, unless I can satisfy the King that our domestic peace will be restored, and that he will no longer hold me responsible for everything that happens in

Europe. I have said all this to him, expecting it would be well received, but since there is no prospect of the Chevalier's immediate return, Monsieur declares that all the rest is useless, and says I am never to expect to be restored to his good graces until I have given him back his favourite. I am, I must confess, very much surprised at this behaviour on his part. Monsieur wished for my brother's friendship, and now I offer it to him, he accepts it as if he were doing the King a favour. He refuses to send the Chevalier to England, as if these things could blow over in a quarter of an hour, and scorns the offer of the pension. If he reflects at all, it is impossible for him to go on in this matter, and I can only suppose that he is bent on quarrelling with me. The King was good enough to assure him on his oath, that I had no part in the Chevalier's exile, and that his return did not depend on me. Unfortunately for me he refused to believe the King, who has never been known to utter a falsehood, and it will be still more unfortunate if I cannot help him while it is yet possible. You see now, my dear cousin, the state of my affairs. Of the three things which Monsieur desired, I can obtain two and a half, and he is angry because I cannot do more, and counts the King, my brother's friendship, and his own advantage all as nothing. As for me, I have done more than I could have hoped. But if I am unhappy enough for Monsieur to go on treating me so unkindly, I declare, my dear cousin, that I shall give it all up, and take no more trouble as to his pension or his favourite's return, or his friendship with the King, my brother. Two of the three things are hard to obtain, and others might think them of great importance, but I have only to drop the subject, and maintain the same silence as Monsieur, who refuses to speak when I desire an explanation. As for the Chevalier's return, even if my credit were as great as Monsieur believes it to be, I will never give way to blows [*coups de baton*]. If Monsieur therefore refuses to accept the two things which he can have, and insists on getting the third, which must depend on the King's pleasure, I can only await the knowledge of Monsieur's will in silence. If he desires me to act I will do it joyfully, for I have no greater wish than to be on good terms with him. If not, I will keep silence and

patiently bear all his unkindness, without trying to defend myself. His hatred is unreasonable, but his esteem may be earned. I may say that I have neither deserved the first nor am I altogether unworthy of the last, and I still console myself with the hope it may some day be obtained. You can do more than any one else to help me, and I am so persuaded that you have my good and Monsieur's at heart, that I hope you will endeavour to assist me. I will only remind you of one thing. If you let a good chance slip by it does not always return again. The present moment seems to be favourable for obtaining the pension, and the future is, to say the least, doubtful. After this, I must tell you that your pension from England will be paid shortly. The King, my brother, gave me his word for it, and those persons whose business it is to see this done promised to afford the necessary facilities. If you were here we would take further steps to settle the business, for you know that I was not sufficiently acquainted with the particulars of your affairs to do more than repeat what you had told me. If I can give you any further proofs of my affection I will do so with all the pleasure in the world.'

Dinner was served in Monsieur's room, and after it was over Henrietta lay down on some cushions on the floor and went to sleep; Madame de La Fayette, who was sitting by her, noticed that she was looking very ill, and drew Monsieur's attention to the fact. When she awoke she complained of a pain in her side, but it seemed to get better, as when in a few minutes her old friend Madame de Mecklenbourg arrived, she talked with her and Monsieur till about five o'clock.* Then she asked for a glass of chicory water, a favourite beverage. Madame de Gamache fetched it and Madame de Gourdon offered it to Henrietta; immediately after drinking it she was seized with violent pain and cried out, 'Oh, what a pain! What shall I do! I must be poisoned!' Her ladies hastened to her assistance and put her to bed in the adjoining room. Doctors were sent for, but did not think the illness serious, and all were amazed when she assured them she was dying and asked for her confessor. Her sufferings were inconceivable, but when Monsieur came to her bedside she embraced him, and said with a sweetness of manner that might melt the hardest

heart: 'Alas! Monsieur, you have long ceased to love me, but you have been unjust to me, I never wronged you.' And Monsieur, touched by these words and the sight of her pain, burst into tears.

The pain grew worse, and she still insisted that she had been poisoned; Monsieur suggested that some of the chicory should be given to a dog. But Madame Desbordes, one of Henrietta's faithful friends, said that she had prepared it herself; and to show Madame that it was quite harmless drank some, but Henrietta remained unconvinced. Remedies were given, and after a time she became quieter, but when asked if she suffered less said, 'The pain was as severe as ever, but she had not strength to cry, and that there was no remedy for her suffering.'

The news of Madame's illness had reached Paris, and the King, Queen, and Mademoiselle, attended by Mesdames de Soisson, La Vallière, and de Montespan, hastened to her bedside. Courtiers followed, and the room was soon filled by a mourning multitude. Although at first, as Madame de La Fayette says, nothing could be heard but the sound of weeping, Mademoiselle tells us that ere long self-interest regained its accustomed prominence, and even those who shed tears of sympathy for the suffering Princess whispered beneath their breath surmises as to the consequences of her death: 'Who would inherit her prestige?' 'Whom would Monsieur marry?' and other similar queries. Henrietta felt the chill in the atmosphere. 'She perceived,' wrote Mademoiselle, 'with pain the tranquillity of every one, and I have never seen any sight so pitiable as her state when she realized the real attitude of those surrounding her bed.'

Many, however, were perfectly sincere, and believed that with Madame joy would go from the Court. The King, Turenne, Treville were profoundly distressed, also Mademoiselle, who stood 'bathed in tears at the foot of her bed,' and although Henrietta pressed her hand and said, 'You are losing a good friend who was beginning to know and love you,' had not the strength to approach her. Louis at first tried to cheer her, but when he realized that there was no more hope he could only embrace her, and with tears streaming down his face tell her to turn her thoughts to God. Madame returned the

embrace : ' Kiss me, Sire,' she said, ' for the last time ; ah, Sire ! do not weep for me, do not weep for me, or you will make me weep too. You are losing a good servant, who has always feared the loss of your good graces more than death itself.' After the royal family had gone a message was despatched for Bossuet, for whom, some one remembered, Madame had a great regard ; but in the meantime Madame de La Fayette had sent for Feuillet, the austere Jansenist, Canon of Saint Cloud ; just as he was beginning his stern admonitions, however, Sir Ralph Montagu arrived, and Henrietta eagerly turned to him to give him her last message to Charles. She spoke of the Franco-British alliance, and added : ' I beg you to tell my brother that I only urged him to do this, because I was convinced that it was for his own honour and advantage. I have always loved him better than life itself, and now my only regret in dying is to be leaving him ' ; and when the ambassador asked if she believed she had been poisoned, she said : ' If this is true, you must never let the King, my brother, know it. Spare him that grief at all events, and, above all, do not let him take revenge on the King here, for he at least is not guilty.' But Madame de La Fayette said this last sentence was spoken too faintly for Montagu to hear.

The curé from Saint Cloud now arrived with the Host, and Madame received the Viaticum with great devotion. Afterwards she sent for Monsieur, who embraced her for the last time, and then she turned to Feuillet, who spoke of her sins and told her not to think she had been poisoned, but to offer her life as a sacrifice to God. Madame was humble and sweet, but a gleam of joy lit up her face when Bossuet entered with the cheering words : '*L'espérance, Madame, L'espérance.*'

All present fell on their knees as the great Bishop prayed for the passing soul. Extreme unction was administered, and Henrietta made her confession of faith ; then remembering an emerald ring she had made for Bossuet, told one of her maids in English to give it to him when she was dead.

A few minutes after the change came. Bossuet bent over her. ' Madame,' he said, ' you believe in God, you hope in God, you love God.' ' With all my heart,' she answered with her dying breath. ' Thus,' writes the Bishop of Valence, ' this great

and royal-hearted Princess passed away without even having shown the least sign of trouble or weakness in this awful surprise. All she said and did was perfectly natural and without effort, and they who both saw and heard her knew that she spoke from her heart. The whole of France, mourning as it does for her, is edified by the sight of her piety and amazed at her great and heroic courage.'

The cause of Henrietta's death has never been satisfactorily decided. The majority of the doctors ascribe it to natural causes, but the Duc de Saint Simon tells of a confession drawn by Louis from her *maître d'hôtel* to the effect that the Chevalier de Lorraine sent the poison, that d'Effiat administered it, and that a page had discovered him in the pantry where the chicory was kept, but that Monsieur was entirely ignorant of the whole affair. The Duke also adds that a few days after Princess Elizabeth Charlotte Palatine married Monsieur. Louis told her the *maître d'hôtel's* story, and assured her that had he not been convinced of his brother's innocence he would not have permitted the marriage to take place. Some time afterwards the page who had found d'Effiat tampering with the chicory water, gave the second Madame further details. D'Effiat had not put the poison in the water, but rubbed it on the edge of Madame's cup. This accounted for the fact that others drank with no ill effect.

Charles was overcome with grief when he heard of his sister's death, shed torrents of tears, and thundered anathemas against Monsieur. As soon as the English people grasped that Madame had been poisoned, a mob arose and demanded the death of the French. The ambassador's life was threatened, and his house had to be protected by the guards. The Duke of Buckingham advocated an instantaneous declaration of war.*

But the excitement soon evaporated, and though Charles received Monsieur's envoy coldly, refused to read his letters, and freely expressed his opinion on the way in which Henrietta had been treated by her husband and Lorraine, he received Louis's ambassador cordially and professed himself content with the explanation offered, and continued on excellent terms with Louis, whose grief indeed was almost as great as his own. As Henrietta had said, the King of France at least was not guilty.

On 19 August, two days before Henrietta's funeral, the King's Master of the Ceremonies, followed by heralds and criers bearing her arms on their tabards, marched through the streets of Paris, knocked at the doors of the House of Parliament and other public places, and proclaimed Henrietta's style and titles, asked 'all noble and devout persons' to pray for her soul, and announced that by command of the King 'Prayer would be offered for the repose of her soul and Mass celebrated in the Church of Saint Denis de France, where her body, now reposed, at which place . . . on Thursday at ten in the morning, her solemn funeral service would be held.'

All the great ones of France attended Madame's funeral, even the Queen was present in a tribune. The Archbishop of Rheims celebrated Mass, which was chanted by the King's choir, accompanied by Lulle's violins.

Bossuet pronounced the oration, and in one sentence synchronized her life: 'Princess Henrietta, born as it were on a throne, possessed a mind superior to her illustrious birth, a mind which the misfortunes of her family could not subdue. She grew up amidst the wishes, the applause, and the affection of a whole kingdom. Every year added to her personal attractions, and brought with it an accession of mental accomplishments. . . . Neither interest, nor vanity, nor the enchantment of flattery, nor the persuasive voice of friendship could lure a confided secret from her bosom . . . By her mediation some controversial points which had lately existed between two great monarchs were happily adjusted. No sooner had she erected this monument to her fame than she was swept to the grave.'

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